

Seven Studies by Peter Woolley

SEVEN STUDIES IN THE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
HISTORY OF UTTOXETER
AND ITS ADJACENT RURAL
PARISHES
1530 -1830

by
Peter Woolley

FOREWORD

The ancient market town of Uttoxeter has a rich archival heritage that enables us to look into many facets of its history at many different periods. From the days of the Ferriers' medieval borough through to the recent past, there is always plenty for the historian to work on and always new avenues of research to be explored.

Few documentary sources provide greater insight into the everyday life of the past than probate records especially in the period when it was customary to prepare an inventory of the deceased's goods along with the will itself. These allow us to see how houses were furnished, sometimes how many and what rooms they had, what clothes people wore, what equipment craftsmen and manufacturers used to ply their trades, what crops farmers grew and how many and what livestock they had.

From a similar sort of period, civil parish administration developed with the advent of Tudor legislation relating to roads and bridges and the Elizabethan Poor Laws, and we are indebted to successive churchwardens of Uttoxeter parish church for ensuring the survival of a goodly proportion of the town's civil parish records. The survival of the records of the former parish officers is everywhere unpredictable and the retention for centuries of many of the papers in the capacious parish chest provides an added dimension to the materials available for research.

However, a great deal of analysis and synthesis of raw data is needed to exploit all this material to best effect and this Peter Woolley has done in this excellent series of essays on the social and economic history of Uttoxeter and its hinterland. I have great pleasure in commending this book to a wider audience.

Dudley Fowkes, Staffordshire County Archivist
March 1995.

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PREFACE.

These studies were produced at various times during the past 7 years and are here assembled and published for the first time. They were presented in a series of lectures for the Workers Educational Association given between December 1992 and February 1993 at Uttoxeter Library under the heading "Local Lives from Local Records".

The first five studies are based principally upon information extracted from the wills and inventories of people who lived and died in these parishes. I am very conscious of the fact that this set of studies is incomplete, stopping as it does at 1650. It should continue until at least 1725, by which date inventories have largely disappeared from Lichfield probate records. However this last 75 years is as yet an almost untapped source of information, so far as the Probate Records are concerned. I do hope at some time in the future to be able to remedy the fault.

A large part of Study 4 appeared in the Autumn 1992 issue of 'Staffordshire History' as an essay entitled 'Some views on the Rural Staffordshire priest as perceived from the evidence of wills 1534-1650.' Studies 6 and 7, which really concern Uttoxeter's poor and the operation of the law concerning them, owe their existence to the survival of a remarkable and comprehensive collection of documents from the Uttoxeter Parish Chest, now preserved at the County Record Office in class D 3891.

All the wills and inventories used for Studies 1 - 5 are housed in the Joint Record Office at Lichfield, except for a very small number which only appear in the Marchington Manor Court Record, which is in the County Record Office at Stafford. The documents other than wills referred to in Studies 6 and 7 are all at SRO. I must record my grateful thanks to the staffs of both these Offices for their constant kindness and patience with all my enquiries, and most particularly to the County Archivist himself, Mr. Dudley Fowkes, who has always encouraged me in these enterprises. Peter Lightfoot's Map of Uttoxeter of 1658 appears by kind permission of The Curator of Uttoxeter Heritage Centre.

Certainly much of this information is seeing the light of day, as it were, for the first time since it was originally recorded, and I hope that readers interested in Uttoxeter's past will find much that is entertaining, illuminating, and thought provoking. I accept full responsibility for any mistakes there may be.

Peter Woolley
Kingstone, Staffs.
March 1995

Published works which I have specifically referred to in these studies are listed below.

R. Plot.	The Natural History of Staffordshire.	1686
Daniel Defoe.	A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain.	1724
Stebbing Shaw.	History and Antiquities of Staffordshire. (2 Volumes)	1798, 1801
F.A. Hibbert.	The Dissolution of the Monasteries, as illustrated by the suppression of religious houses of Staffordshire.	1910
W.G. Torrance.	History of Alleyne's Grammar School Uttoxeter.	1958
Margaret Wood.	The English Medieval House.	1965
Joan Thirsk (Ed.)	Agrarian History of England and Wales Vol.4.	1967
Rosemary O'Day	Princes and Paupers in the English Church 1500 - 1800	
and Felicity Heal (Ed.)	(Contains Clair Cross's essay on provincial clergy incomes)	1981
Paul Slack.	The Impact of the Plague in Tudor and Stuart England.	1985
Philip Morgan (Ed.)	Staffordshire Studies.	1987
Peter Earle.	The Making of the English Middle Class. (Contains a Chapter on apprenticeship).	1989

STUDY 1. A GENERAL VIEW OF UTTOXETER AND DISTRICT, AND ITS AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY. 1530-1650.

The period of time under consideration for this study, and the succeeding four, is arbitrary in that it is quite simply the period covered by the First Calendar of wills and inventories at the Lichfield Joint Record Office (referred to hereafter as LJRO). However it does so happen that it more or less coincides with two notable landmarks in English history which provide its boundaries, namely, the dissolution of the monasteries at the beginning, and the Civil War at the end.

The wills and inventories used are those of men and women from Uttoxeter, Bramshall, Kingstone, Gratwich, Hanbury, and Doveridge. Uttoxeter was at this date a fairly large parish, comprising, as well as the town, a rural district which included the hamlets of Stramshall, Creighton, Crakemars, Caverswall, Willslock, and most of Loxley, and Uttoxeter Woodlands. Hanbury was a very large parish, and included the two perpetual curacies of Marchington and Newborough, and quite a number of hamlets which today are civil parishes in their own right, among them Draycott in the Clay, Stubby Lane, Morton, Fauld, Agardsley, Hoar Cross and Thornylandes. Marchington comprised two distinct parts, the Town and the Woodlands. All who made wills, or for whom letters of administration were granted, for whom the actual documents survive, are considered in this and the succeeding four studies. There are from the earliest period, mostly before 1550, some wills recorded in the Calendar at Lichfield for which no documents survive. There are not very many of them, and as the only information to be obtained about them, from the appropriate Act Book, is the name and parish of residence of the testator and the name or names of the person to whom the grant of probate was made, with very occasionally their relationship to the testator, they have not been included for consideration in these studies.

Table 1 is drawn up without reference at all to the content or detail of any wills or administrations. It does offer some broad general evidences. The summary table at the bottom demonstrates that there were approximately 50% more wills or administrations in the second half of the period. This can stem from three causes, or any combination of them: a better survival of documents with the passage of time; an increase in population; and an increase in prosperity. The first is difficult to assess, but not likely to have been of great significance. Those wills proved but missing have already been spoken of. There is also the occasional reference in a will to some other, generally earlier, will which is unrecorded in the Calendar. The second possible cause, an increase in population, is also difficult to assess, since Parish Registers, from which counts of births and deaths can be made, do not exist for any of these parishes before 1574. For Kingstone and Gratwich no Registers survive previous to 1755. Evidence for the third cause is provided by the wills and inventories themselves, and will be considered later.

TABLE 1. TOTAL NUMBERS OF WILLS OR ADMINISTRATIONS 1531 - 1650

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Uttoxeter</i>	<i>Kingstone</i>	<i>Hanbury</i>	<i>Marchington</i>	<i>Newborough</i>	<i>Doveridge</i>	<i>Bramshall</i>	<i>Gratwich</i>
1531 - 40	24	2	10	2	0	3	2	0
1541 - 50	19	5	13	6	6	6	2	1
1551 - 60	39	5	17	7	3	15	4	0
1561 - 70	21	2	13	13	1	6	1	1
1571 - 80	21	7	17	8	4	7	2	0
1581 - 90	34	10	7	7	6	3	1	0
1591 - 1600	35	12	12	15	8	6	3	0
1601 - 10	26	7	20	11	5	6	2	0
1611 - 20	59	9	20	12	9	10	4	2
1621 - 30	53	3	13	15	8	10	4	1
1631 - 40	30	4	23	14	7	13	3	0
1641 - 50	28	2	7	13	1	9	2	0
<i>Average per decade for 60 years</i>								
1531 - 90	26.3	4.5	12.9	7.16	3.3	6.6	2.16	0.3
<i>Average per decade for 60 years</i>								
1591 - 1650	38.5	6.3	15.9	13.3	6.3	9	3	0.5

On a subject closely related to population change, mortality itself, this Table does offer broad general evidence, that in the decades 1551-60, 1611-20, and 1621-30 there were unusually large numbers of wills and administrations, and this in turn would probably indicate that the numbers of deaths were also unusually high. It is normally reckoned by demographers that an increase of 1.5 to 2 times the average number of deaths in any one period points to some sort of mortality crisis, and this is evident here particularly for Uttoxeter itself. The reason is likely to have been disease or famine, or a combination of both. A more detailed look at the wills and administrations for these three decades is quite revealing, particularly if the wills of those describing themselves as 'sick in body', and also intestacies, are isolated from the remainder. Tables 2a and 2b do this. It should be said in this context that 'sick in body' may well be a blanket description which could cover a whole range of conditions from the chronic infirmities associated with old age or malnutrition to the Plague itself. Very occasionally there is more specific comment.

John Lovatt of Marchington wrote in 1571:

"In the name of God Amen I John Lovatt considering oftentimes within myself the fragility and uncertainty of this transitory life and that God by this grievous sickness wherewith it hath pleased him to visit me....."

In 1557 Thomas Agard of Newborough was 'somewhat syck and dysesynd in body' and in 1560 Robert Fynmore of Uttoxeter left his title to a fulling mill in Rocester to his brother 'for such tyme and terme as I myself ought to have yf God had spared me lyfe', but such specific comment is rare.

Nuncupative wills have an immediacy and a graphic quality which can sometimes throw some light on the circumstances of death. That of George Taylor is quite moving in a very simple way:

"Memorandum that on Fryday 4th April 1617 George Taylor of Draycott in the parish of Hanbury....labourer being sicke but of perfect memorie having sent for his brother in lawe John Wolley sayde to the sayde John Wolley in the hearing of ye persons whose names be subscribed as followeth that is to say I send for you to let you know howe I intend and meane that smalle quantitie of goodes and chattells I have shalbe bestowed And first sayde that my mistress daughter Anne Sutton standing by him shall have 20s. and her youngest brother and youngest sister 20s. betweenne theym wch last 20s, my Mistress oweth me for wages and all the rest of my goodes and chattells I give to my wyfe And Sayde further he would no longer tarie in this payne yf he had a hart of steele and shortly after he badde god be with theym all and dyed. Witnesses hereunto John Wolley Ellen Carter Anne Sutton Agnes Hallyday Jane Northe"

TABLE 2A WILLS AND ADMINISTRATIONS 1551 - 60

	Totals of all kinds	Sick in body	Intestacies
1551	13	6	1
1552	7	1	1
1553	9	6	1
1554	6	5	0
1555	3	3	0
1556	3	1	0
1557	10	5	2
1558	18	6	2
1559	11	8	1
1560	10	3	0
Totals	90	44	8

TABLE 2B WILLS AND ADMINISTRATIONS 1611 - 30

	Totals of all kinds	Sick in body	Intestacies		Totals of all kinds	Sick in body	Intestacies
1611	5	2	1	1621	11	3	1
1612	11	5	3	1622	5	2	2
1613	10	4	3	1623	15	4	8
1614	13	4	3	1624	9	3	3
1615	9	5	3	1625	11	3	4
1616	22	10	9	1626	8	4	2
1617	10	4	3	1627	10	2	3
1618	12	4	2	1628	16	8	7
1619	12	4	5	1629	7	3	0
1620	14	3	3	1630	7	3	3
Totals	118	45	35	Totals	99	35	33

Circumstantial or cumulative evidence generally offer the only clues. Hugh and Agnes Lovat of Crakemarsh, for instance, were described simply as '*sick in body*', and must have died at almost the same time as each other, since they have identical inventories to their wills, on the same date, June 20th 1557. It seems likely that some infectious disease took them off. Paul Slack, in his book on the impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England, refers to '*burning fevers*' and '*spotted fevers*' over much of the country in 1556 and 1557, together with probable outbreaks of typhus following disastrous harvests in 1555 and 1556, and in 1558 and 1559 even more disastrous outbreaks of influenza. It may well be significant that eight of the eleven testators of 1559 were '*sick in body*' and one of the two remaining an intestacy, always a possible pointer to sudden death for some reason. Looking at Table 2b it is 1616 which at once catches the eye. The total of wills and administrations for that year is 100% above the decennial average, and 86% of them were either wills of those '*sick in body*' or intestacies. There are surviving Registers of Births, Marriages and Deaths for some of the parishes for this early 17th Century period (there are none for 1551-60), so it is possible to see if those peak years for probate records are paralleled in the Burial record. For Uttoxeter itself the evidence from the Register tallies remarkably. The average numbers of burials recorded annually from 1598-1618 (leaving out 4 years in which the illegibility of the Register makes a burial count impossible) was 51. In 1616, there were 110 burials recorded there. In Hanbury parish Register no one year in that decade showed such a catastrophic significance but 1611, 1615, and 1616 all had 25% more burials recorded than the average for the parish. In neither Register is there evidence as to what the cause of such a large number of deaths in 1616 might have been.

It would not be proper to leave this short consideration of mortality in the area without a look at the other end of the spectrum, as it were. There were always testators who described themselves as '*whole in body*' or '*in good health*'. Even in the three disastrous decades considered above there were 13 such. Three of these deserve special mention. Thomas Wyld in 1628 was '*very old in years but in good health*', and Thomas Brandwine als Spede in 1617 was '*a very old man but in good health*'. Both of these men were Uttoxeter residents. Edmund Hurte was a Marchington man who, although '*somewhat syck in body*' was nevertheless '*of ye age of 4 score years or thereabouts and of good and perfect remembrance praised be God*.' Out of the 731 actual wills under consideration there are 167 which record bequests to grandchildren, and another four testators who were almost certainly grandparents. There are a further 34 wills which refer to married children without mentioning grandchildren, another 56 with adult children, another four with some adult and some minor children and 3 more testators where nothing is known of the family but who were known to be old because the document says so. There are therefore 264 testators who had reached what could be called "grandparent age". At the other end of the scale are 95 testators either known to have been young, or whose children were all minors, and who may therefore be assumed to have died for reasons other than old age. This accounts for only 49% of those who made wills, but it is a fairly large sample, and it does seem reasonable to assume that the 51% whose wills reveal no evidence about their possible ages would have been divided between youth and age in a similar fashion. If this is so, it shows that 73% of wills throughout the period were of people who had reached "grandparent age", compared with 26.5% of younger adults. There are of course 210 people for whom only inventories survive, and most of these were intestacies. It may well be that a large percentage of these were of younger folk, if sudden death from disease was the factor, as it may well have been in crises like those considered above. But even if all these intestacies were of young adults it would still leave 56% of older testators, and the actual percentage is almost certain to have been larger.

The question 'How old is a grandparent?' is not an easy one to answer. But research into the lifestyles of rural communities up and down the country at this date indicates that men generally did not marry until they were in occupation of sufficient land to provide for the children which the marriage was likely to produce. This was commonly at about 28 years old, and their wives were generally not much younger, 25-26 being the average. Allowing then 1 year for the first child to appear, the likely age for a man seeing his first grandchild would have been about 58, and for women a little younger; testators making bequests to numbers of grandchildren (and there are quite a lot of them) are likely to have been nearer 70 than 60. Joan Hinckley of Thorneylanes in 1632 bequeathed '*unto my children's children, which are eighteen in number, 12d apiece*.' Her husband had died 20 years earlier, in 1612. He named 2 sons and 5 daughters, but only two of them, daughters, were under 21 then, for their bequests were made on reaching that age, whereas those to the other children were outright. His eldest son George was therefore likely to have been already 27 or 28, and the father in his middle fifties at least, possibly already 60. Joan Hinckley in 1632 was therefore probably nearer 80 than 70. John Lees of Marchington Woodlands (1607) and Henry Partridge of Thorneylanes (1638) each made bequests to children of their grandchildren, and were therefore likely to have been octogenarians at the very least.

Of the life expectancy of the non-testating section of the population in this area almost nothing is known. There was quite certainly a very large chance of not surviving early childhood, and, for women, of dying in childbirth, and for all categories, of dying from plague or smallpox or some other infectious or contagious

disease or fever. Nevertheless the impression is created that those who escaped these hazards were likely to live to "grandparent age".

The principal part of this study is concerned with agriculture in the community during this period. It is possible to observe, from this large number of wills, what differences were developing economically between Uttoxeter itself and the surrounding rural areas. Inventories constantly appear, particularly in Uttoxeter itself, which contain no livestock at all, and these inventories are sometimes of folk who were quite well-to-do. Table 3 is produced to illustrate whether or not the economic life of the town was developing along different lines. For this purpose all those inventories from Uttoxeter hamlets, whose circumstances and environment had more in common with the rural parishes than with the town itself have been included with the rural parishes. All those wills without inventories, or for which the inventory has not survived, are of course omitted. There are a fair number of these. But it must be assumed that there would be similar numbers from both sides of the Table and would therefore make no difference to the findings.

TABLE 3. INVENTORIES WITHOUT LIVESTOCK

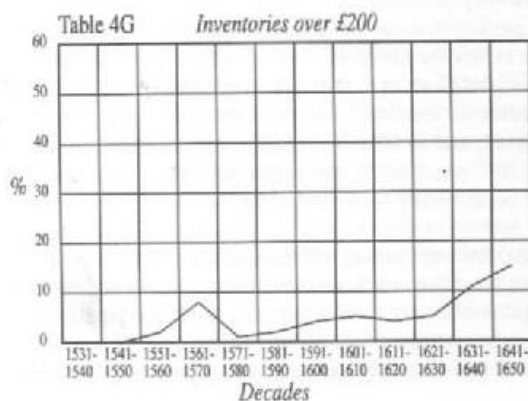
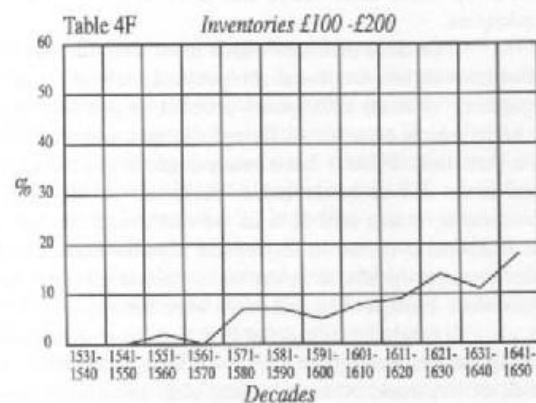
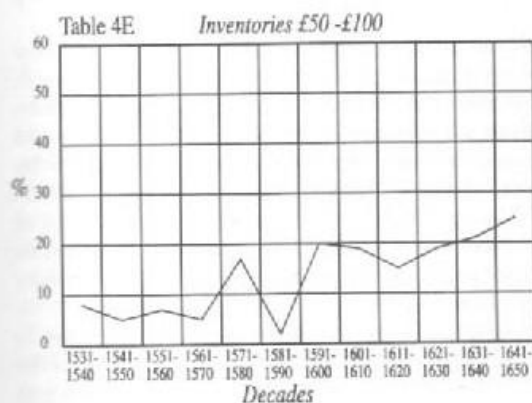
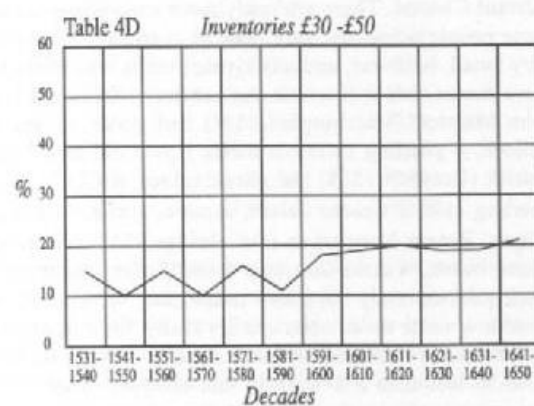
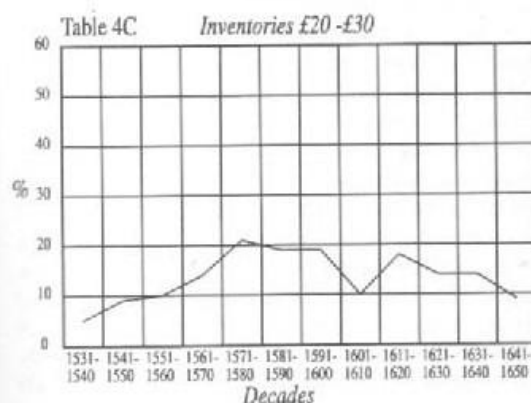
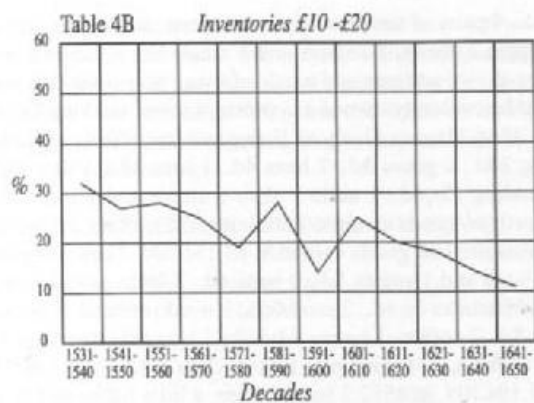
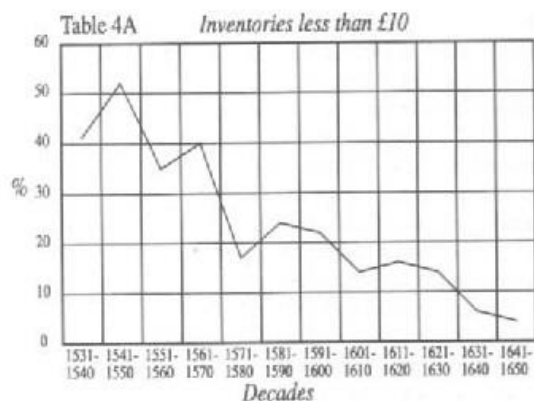
Date	Uttoxeter Town			Rural Parishes		
	Total	Inventories	Stockless	Total	Inventories	Stockless
1531 - 40	20	3	15%	18	1	5.5%
1541 - 50	16	2	12.5%	35	0	0%
1551 - 60	26	5	19%	63	0	0%
1561 - 70	14	2	14%	44	1	2%
1571 - 80	9	0	0%	53	3	5.5%
1581 - 90	29	7	24%	30	4	13%
1591 - 1600	22	3	14%	62	8	13%
1601 - 10	22	4	18%	58	4	7%
1611 - 20	39	11	28%	81	10	12%
1621 - 30	44	14	32%	52	6	11.5%
1631 - 40	25	10	40%	68	15	22%
1641 - 50	16	7	44%	37	7	19%

Notes. Those inventories with poultry only are classed as stockless. Percentages are to the nearest 0.5%. 11 of the Uttoxeter stockless inventories were over £100 in value (16%) compared with only 2 from the rural parishes (3%).

This Table does demonstrate quite clearly that for almost the whole period there were more people living in Uttoxeter than in the rural areas who kept no animals but had nevertheless sufficient substance to have to make a will, or for whom a grant of administration was necessary. The reasons for this require more investigation. One obvious possible one is that the accommodation occupied in the town was simply not large enough. It is interesting to observe, in this context, that 8.5% of the Uttoxeter inventories with stock had only one beast, compared with 3.5% of those in the rural parishes. It is quite possible to keep one cow, to provide milk, butter, and cheese for the family, in a yard at the back of the house, or in a shed, or a lean-to, provided someone can take it out to grass daily during spring and summer. Single cows are kept to this day in such circumstances in many of the less-developed parts of Europe. In urban areas therefore it does not necessarily mean that the possession of only one cow indicates poverty. However it must also be accepted that such one beast inventories were also sometimes of people who were on the verge of poverty. Robert Mower, a Marchington chantry priest who died in 1541, made a bequest of 4d. "to every widow that hath but one cow."

Obviously the actual total inventory value gives some indication of the degree of prosperity or poverty of the deceased person. But here one must proceed with some caution. The period involved is 120 years, and other economic factors were also of influence, as Tables which follow will show. Table 4 in its component parts endeavours to show what percentages of people left low value or high value inventories. It has to be expressed in % terms, since this is the only way in which disparate decennial quantities can be compared. Looking first at graphs A and B it can be seen that approximately 75% of all inventories before 1570 were less than £20 in value, and that almost 50% were less than £10. Quite a lot of these were less than £3. The actual content of a few of these early small inventories ought to be looked at, in order to find out how little 'little' was.

The total value of Christopher Buttlor of Uttoxeter's goods in 1534 was 9s.4d. They comprised jackets worth 6s., doublets 12d., a shirt 16d., and a pair of shoes 12d. He was really only worth the clothes he stood up in when he was alive. In 1594 the inventory of Francis Bennet, a Uttoxeter weaver was valued at £1. 6s. 10d. and comprised weaver's looms and gears 16s.8d., warpstocks and ring rathes 12d., pinwheel and lachet



8d., 4 pairs of temples 4d., twill sheets 2s., bolster and chaff bed 12d., a pewter dish saucer and 2 bowls 8d., 1 piggin 2 chairs, 2 coffers and 1 meale 2s., 2 tables 1 bedstead 1 painted cloth 2 firedogs and a bellows 16d., a fire shovel and iron and a pair of tongs 6d., 1 wooden plate and 1 spinning wheel 4d. This man had no livestock, but he evidently owned a competent set of working tools, and a small but adequate amount of household effects. In 1564 Thomas Heely of Bramshall had effects valued at £1.16s.8d. These comprised 1 weaning calf 3s.4d., 1 pig 20d., 2 geese 8d., 2 hens 4d., 1 load of hay 4s., 2 sheaves of corn 2s., 1 brass pot 4s., 1 pan 5s.8d., all his bedding 13s.4d., 1 table 1 chair 2 stools and 1 form 16d., pothooks and chains 4d. The effect of an extra 10s. worth of goods is quite dramatic; and another £2 worth even more so. In 1562 Edward Cletone of Loxley in Uttoxeter had goods valued at £3.15s.10d. They comprised a cow, a 2 year old heifer and a calf £2, 4 hogsheep 1 lamb and 1 pig 6s.8d., 2 hens 6d., 2 little pans 2 pots 1 kettle and 1 skillet 12s., 6 pewter dishes 2 saucers 2 candlesticks 3s.4d., 2 coverlets, 3 window sheets, 2 bolsters, 6 pair of canvas sheets, 2 boardcloths, and 2 towels 6s.8d., 2 coffers 2 lomes 3 bowks 2 iron coberts a spit a hatchet a pair of tongs a pair of pothooks and chains, a brandiron, a frying pan and a chair 6s.8d. Richard Lyes, also of Uttoxeter had in his effects valued at £3.10s.10d. in 1552 2 barren cows, a little heifer and an old mare, and a similar collection of household goods to Edward Cletone. There are many more examples such as these. While it is quite evident that, in modern terms, these people possessed very little, it is equally clear that they were not destitute. Their "margin of error" was very small, however, and any type of crisis was likely to have hit them very hard. Looking at those of slightly more means, but still within the confines of Table 4A, are three further examples, all of about the same date. John Marston (Marchington 1544) had goods valued at £6.10s.2d., comprising 4 cows, 3 heifers, a twinter bullock, 4 yearling calves, a mare, 1 year old and 2 year old colts, together with his household effects. Joan Patrick (Draycott 1558) had goods valued at £7.17s.5d., comprising ½ a stirk, a twinter, a cow and a heifer, a yearling calf, 2 weaner calves, a mare, a colt, ½ a stag horse 10 sheep, and a pig, together with household effects. Robert Normanton (Dovebridge 1555) had goods valued at £10.6s.0d., comprising 3 draught oxen, 5 young beasts, 4 cows 30 sheep 4 small pigs 1 mare and a foal, together with household effects. These people were quite certainly not poor - indeed they were really quite well possessed. Obviously a substantial number of these low value inventories are not really 'little' at all. Returning to Table 4A it can be seen that the number of inventories in this category goes steadily down, with a blip towards the end of the sixteenth century, so that by 1640-50 less than 5% were in this category. Table 4B moves broadly speaking in the same way. Table 4D moves upwards until 1530, and then down. The remaining tables show broadly speaking upward moving tendencies.

The next problem which must therefore be considered is whether the decrease in numbers of lower value inventories, and the accompanying increase in numbers of those of higher value, was due to an increase in prosperity, or to an inflationary process, or possibly a combination of the two. It is necessary to find some item or items which occur in sufficiently large numbers in the inventories throughout the period which may be used as a yardstick. Table 3 has already made it quite clear that very large numbers of people kept livestock. In the rural areas it was never below 81%, and in the town itself, although the % of stockkeepers goes steadily downwards, it was still 56% in the last decade under consideration. Table 6, which is a more detailed look at cattle keepers, shows in its second column that virtually all keepers of livestock kept some cattle. It seems therefore appropriate to select some classes of cattle as yardsticks for the examination of possible inflationary tendencies. Plough oxen and cows were the obvious choice, and are used for Table 5.

It might be thought at first that 'cow' is far too general a term to be used safely for this purpose, but in fact appraisers throughout the period were particularly thorough, and knowledgeable, in their assessments of the value of livestock. Although occasional inventories value whole groups of animals together, for the most part stock inventories were separated very precisely into draught, or plough oxen, cows, 3 year old and 2 year old heifers and bullocks, yearlings, sterks, weaning calves, and sucking calves, and valuations were equally precise. It is possible to produce similar tables for all these classes of cattle, but as the cow offers the largest possible sample it has been used here. The plough ox is also a very good choice. For this area, at this period, it really was the king of beasts. In the inventories for the first 50 years of the period it is almost invariably, when it is owned, the first item and the most valuable; and in later inventories, when cattle are often listed separately from other effects, it was still always first. If it was there it was invariably taken as heriot by the Lord of the Manor. The only other creature which very occasionally took first place instead of the plough ox was a very fine riding horse.

Table 5 does show that there were strong inflationary tendencies at work right through the period. This is already known, of course, and has been much discussed and commented on in economic surveys about the period. But it is good to have additional very local information confirming the fact, and also vindication of the accuracy and honesty of the appraisers themselves, whose valuations have sometimes been called in question. It is evident that what was needed to buy one cow in 1650 would have bought five at the start of the period, and

the ratio is almost the same for the ploughbeast. The fact that its comparative value with the cow fell away slightly at the end of the period is most probably connected with the fact that it was already being superseded by the horse for draught work on many farms in the area, and was losing its special valuation niche. For the first 60 years of the period 42.5% of all cattlekeepers had ploughoxen; for the second 60 years the figure is down to 18%. But broadly speaking the range of increase is the same for both categories, and it may reasonably be assumed that other livestock and commodities were affected in a similar way.

TABLE 5. DECENNIAL AVERAGE PRICES FOR PLOUGHOXEN AND COWS

Date	Ploughoxen				Cows			
	Size of sample	Average value	% increase	Size of sample	Average value	% increase		
to 1540	18	18s.6d.	-	30	11s.9d.	-		
1541 - 50	16	£1.3s.0d.	24	46	13s.6d.	14		
1551 - 60	36	£1.11s.4d.	69	77	18s.5d.	56		
1561 - 70	19	£1.15s.0d.	89	48	£1.3.9d.	102		
1571 - 80	31	£2.1s.9d.	126	56	£1.10s.0d.	155		
1581 - 90	16	£2.11s.3d.	177	44	£1.12s.4d.	175		
1591 - 1600	21	£3.11s.0d.	283	65	£1.18s.8d.	229		
1601 - 10	14	£3.15s.0d.	305	69	£2.3s.3d.	268		
1611 - 20	11	£4.10s.0d.	386	82	£2.10s.5d.	329		
1621 - 30	11	£4.15s.8d.	417	60	£2.12s.7d.	347		
1631 - 40	9	£4.13s.4d.	404	64	£2.18s.8d.	399		
1641 - 50	6	£4.10s.0d.	386	31	£3.0s.6d.	414		

Note. This is not a random sample. Every inventory which values oxen and/or cows separately from other beasts is included. There are a few inventories with 2 separate values for oxen qualified by such adjectives as 'old', 'young' or 'lesser'. All are included. Cows are often described as 'milch', 'old', 'barren', 'sorry', and 'mean', and the values naturally vary accordingly, but all are included here. The average value was struck by adding together all the values for the decade and dividing the total by the size of the sample.

It would have been useful to have been able to construct a similar table for grain and/or wool prices, but there are simply not enough inventories with these commodities itemised in this area. The cow was (and indeed still is) the queen in these parts. However it is now possible to look at Table 4 again armed with this new information. Working on the 5:1 ratio, that 4% of testators with goods worth £10 or thereabouts in 1640-50 were in the same category as the £2 men of a century earlier, and were really quite poor. Two examples will suffice to illustrate this. Thomas Shaw was a Dovebridge labourer who died in 1639. Of his worth of £9.8.0, £7.13.0 was money owed him in small amounts by various people. His clothes, linens, and 2 old coffers were valued at 19s. 6d. Some pieces of new linen cloth, which he had bequeathed specifically in his will, were worth 6s.8d. He had wool to make a pair of stockings worth 6d., and finally 7s.10d. in his chest. Richard Aston of Marchington died in 1642 worth £7.12.6. His only livestock were 3 hens and a cockerel valued at 2s. He died intestate and nothing is known of his trade, except that he had linen yarn and tow and a pair of yaringles altogether worth 15s., and may therefore have been a towdresser. He had 1 year's occupation of a 1½ acre close with the wood standing on it valued at 6s. His house seemed to have been quite nicely furnished, with some brass and pewter ware, although he did have "8 pewter dishes at pledge valued at 2/6." He also owned a Bible, and could therefore presumably read. Nevertheless his means can only be described as slender.

It also appears that, on the same 5:1 basis, the 50% with inventories between £10-50 at the beginning of the period corresponds pretty closely to the 43% (plus a few from Table 4G) between £50-200 by the end of the period. It does appear therefore that inflation rather than increased individual prosperity accounted for most of the increased money values. However there is no doubt that there were more people in this group at the end of the period and that the gross product of the area was greater; in that sense the community was more prosperous.

There had been a shift of emphasis though. To see this it is necessary to look at the rest of the findings of Table 6, together with Table 3 once more. Table 6 shows that the numbers of stockkeepers at the lowest level increased broadly towards the end of the period; that the numbers in the second and third level stayed more or less the same; but in all the larger levels were declining. There is no paradox here, when one remembers that the value bands of inventories in Table 4 include all inventories, not just those with livestock and that, as Table 3 illustrates, there was an ever increasing number of stockless inventories, amounting in Uttoxeter itself to over

40% of the total by the last 20 years of the period. The Note to this table points out that 11 of these were over £100 in Utttoxeter. In fact 9 of the 11 were in the last 30 years of the period. Several of them were over £400 and one over £800. It does appear that the unquestioned dominance of livestock as the principal source of wealth in the area was being challenged. What that challenge was is the proper subject of the Study on Trades and Tradesmen and will be considered there.

The remainder of this study is devoted to a rather more detailed consideration of the agricultural community and their animals. Having said that the unquestioned dominance of livestock in the area was being challenged does not mean that agriculture was not still the most significant employment and concern for the largest part of the people being considered in this study.

Table 6. KEEPERS OF CATTLE AND SIZES OF THEIR HERDS

Decade	Total No. of Cattle Keepers	As % of all Stockkeepers	under 5 beasts	% number of keepers in each class				
				6 - 10	11 - 20	21 - 30	31 - 50	over 60
1531 - 40	33	100%	9%	33%	24%	15%	15%	3%
1541 - 50	47	96%	23%	21%	34%	13%	2%	6%
1551 - 60	80	95%	21%	26%	31%	11%	5%	5%
1561 - 70	52	95%	46%	21%	25%	20%	2%	4%
1571 - 80	60	100%	20%	23%	30%	12%	8%	5%
1581 - 90	47	96%	30%	25%	32%	6%	6%	0%
1591 - 1600	70	96%	31%	34%	24%	4%	2%	4%
1601 - 10	66	92%	39%	23%	21%	9%	6%	2%
1611 - 20	100	100%	46%	26%	17%	4%	5%	1%
1621 - 30	71	93%	37%	24%	31%	7%	0%	2%
1631 - 40	65	96%	32%	26%	28%	11%	3%	0%
1641 - 50	33	85%	33%	17%	33%	3%	9%	6%

Note. Percentages calculated to the nearest 1%

Although cattle have figured largely up till now, it has been mainly in a statistical sense, and it would be interesting now to add some detail about the animals themselves.

First, the plough-ox, the most valuable of all beasts. Our vision of the plough-ox is that of a slow, plodding beast, and that of course was its great virtue. On heavy soils in particular they were much more suitable than horses for getting through the ground. Daniel Defoe, on one of his famous "Tours through the whole island of Great Britain" noted: "...going to church at a country Village not far from Lewis (Lewes) I saw an ancient lady, and a lady of very good quality I assure you, drawn to church in her coach with 6 oxen; nor was it done in any frolic or humour but mere necessity, the way being so stiff and deep, that no horses could go in it." They appear in almost half of the inventories of the first decade, and in 1 in 3 for the next 20 years. Humfrey Mynors of Utttoxeter in 1544 had 8 draught oxen valued at £9.6.8. as well as 8 draught steers valued at £8. The steers would have been slightly lighter beasts. Robert Mower of Dovebridge in 1572 had 6 oxen valued at £3 each and 2 steers at £2 each, and this sounds like a double plough team. Robert Barton of Kingstone in 1564 had as the first item on his inventory "2 harryots taken by the lord unpresyde" followed by 2 steers worth 2 marks each, and this would almost certainly have been his ploughteam. All those inventories in this very early period pricing oxen and steers also have yokes and teams, wains and plough gear, making it quite clear that they were draught and plough beasts. Curiously the term 'steer' disappears from use in the inventories here for the next 40 years, and on the comparatively few occasions it appears again between 1620-50 it is for beasts at a much lower price than ploughbeasts, and more suggestive of young bullocks or fatstock. But generally speaking throughout the period 'oxen' by name and price occupy an unambiguous position. Nowhere is there any indication of their exact size or weight or breed. Occasionally 'great' or 'lesser' appear, and 'red' and 'black', but that is all. It seems unlikely that age affected their value much. John Lovatt of Marchington 1571 had one yoke of old oxen valued at £4.13.4, and another yoke of young oxen at the same price. Nor is it clear why they should have been slowly superseded by the horse. It does seem likely that there was some transfer of land in this area from arable to dairy farming during this period, and it may well have been that it was the heavier less tractable soils which reverted to pasture and meadow, which would mean that the quicker horse became a better economic proposition on the lighter soils. Undoubtedly ploughs themselves improved; further contributory factors may have been improvements to the roads and changing weather patterns. The wains which nearly always accompany the oxen, yokes, and ploughgear are very frequently described as 'ironbound'. John Talor of

Uttoxeter 1568, a glover, innholder, and substantial yeoman farmer also, left his best ironbound wain to his daughter Margaret. 'Ironbound' is generally thought to have referred to the wheels of the wain as being iron shod. However there is one inventory, that of Richd. Hall of Hanbury 1586, which is in 2 parts, for which the 2 sets of appraisers are not exactly the same, implying two different locations. The second of these has items connected with a wainmaker's shop, or a smithy, including 11 wainstrakes, 84 wainrails and 45 harrow tines which from their prices appear to have been made of iron rather than wood, creating the possibility that, in some cases at any rate, the wains themselves were ironbound.

Turning now to other cattle, there is only once a reference to a specific breed of cattle. John Carter of Uttoxeter 1638 left to each of his daughters "one Lankshire heifer to be delivered to them on May Day next." There are very often qualifying physical descriptions, the most frequent being "barren". This refers today to a cow which fails to produce a calf in any one season, and there is no reason to suppose it meant anything else then. At all events, there never seems to have been any significant difference in value for barrenness. I am advised by a good farmer friend that a cow, given good herbage and care, will remain productive of both milk and offspring for at least 15 years, and sometimes for 3 or 4 years more. So a cow of 10 or 12 years old described as 'old' would still have had plenty of economic service to give. Poor quality was another matter. The cows belonging to Humfry Daintry of Fauld 1577, for instance, were described as 'poor and lean' and valued at only £1 each, well below the average of £1.10.0 for that decade. Specific animals were often identified by colour, or some colour feature. Black, white, brindled, brown, dun, and red cows and heifers all occur. Agnes Bradbury of Uttoxeter 1592 left to a married daughter in Ashbourne "one black heifer with a taye taylor", and John Higgs of Newborough 1597 left to his son Henry "one fincht haefer 4 yeres olde to goe forward for his children." 4 year old heifers are quite rare, but 2 and 3 year old heifers appear regularly enough in inventories. Cows and heifers were often bequeathed by name also. Names which occur are Lette, Bronyng, Colle, Blassome, Fax, Cherry, Brown, Masser, Greenhorn, Woddfortes, Spensar, Gelner, Fairhead and Filbank.

Sheep were not kept so universally as cattle. In overall terms for the whole area the % number of sheepkeepers fluctuates between one quarter and one third of the number of all stockkeepers. But there were some remarkable features nevertheless. Between 1550-80 the number of keepers rose steadily, and in the decade 1571-80 all the stockkeeping inventories of Uttoxeter rural, Kingstone and Dovebridge contained sheep, and at least 50% of them in all the other parishes. But there was a sharp fall away in the decades following. The actual numbers of sheep kept, on this side of the Dove, were for the most part not large. Leaving Dovebridge aside for the moment, out of 240 sheepkeepers recorded for the whole period only 3 had flocks over 100, one in Kingstone (126), one in Hanbury (125), and one in Bramshall (124); and only another 8 had flocks of over 50. 87 of the 240 had 10 or less sheep, and the average holding, leaving out the 3 large flocks, was 18. So it may be seen that sheep occupied very much a secondary role to cattle in the Staffordshire parishes. Dovebridge was rather different. For the first 60 years of the period two thirds of the inventories have sheep, and there were some quite large flocks. There are 40 inventories altogether recording sheep, and of these one had 1501, two more over 200, and two more over 100. Putting these five on one side, the average holding of the remainder was 28, and only 4 of the 40 had 10 sheep or less. Sheep rearing was evidently a much more significant part of the agricultural economy of Dovebridge.

So far as price is concerned, sheep seem to have been affected by the same inflationary process as cattle. The average cost at the beginning of the period was 1s.2d., and by the close it was 5s.½d., an increase in the ratio 4.39:1. Again there is almost no mention of breeds. Blackfaced sheep appear once or twice. John Carter of Uttoxeter 1637 left to each of his grandchildren "one poleheaded ewe hogg", and Roland Lovatt of Kingstone 1571 bequeathed "one Rossett shype". On a more homely note William Mosley of Marchington 1582 left to his father "5 of my best ewes and one syde taylor wether hogg"; and Walter Massey of Loxley 1622 left "one cayde lamb" to Ann Lucas. These last two beasts sound as if they were family pets. What does seem quite certain is that, right down to the smallest keepers, sheep were kept for their wool and not for their meat. Constantly in wills a lamb, or a ewe and lamb, are bequeathed "to go forward" for a young child or grandchild, and 'go forward' meant to provide a future investment for the child in terms of the animal's long term wool production potential. Also in very large numbers of yeoman and husbandman inventories spinning wheels, woollen yarn, and small quantities of rough wool occur. The word 'homespun' had its true original meaning for these people.

In the calculations for the numbers of pigkeepers, those are included whose only beast was 'a pig in salt', and also any inventory with 2 or more flitches of bacon hanging. As perhaps would be expected, many more people kept pigs than kept sheep. In Uttoxeter itself, for the first 60 years 50% of the inventories have pigs, with the average holding being 3.62. The number of keepers went up to 57% during the next 60 years, but the average size of holding went down to 2.1. The rural parishes were higher in both departments right through the period. 79% were keepers in the first 60 years, with an average holding of 4.13. for the next 60 years the number of keepers dropped to 64%, and the average holding to 2.45. Most frequently the animals are simply

described as pigs or swine, but sows, boars, gilts, shots, and store pigs all occur, together with the usual 'large' or 'small' or 'young'. The calculation of average prices is possibly more uncertain, with very large differences between maximum and minimum in any one decade, sometimes even in the same year. It must be remembered of course that here is a different category of animal, viewed principally as a source of meat (breeding sows and boars excepted) and therefore the value placed upon most of the beasts would have been based quite simply upon weight. However, the average price in the first decade of the period was 1s.4½d., and in the last 10s.2d., a ratio difference of 7.39:1, much higher than for cattle and sheep. It is likely that the bacon was very much fatter than that consumed by most people today. Those inventories recording "a pig in salt" show how the preserving process began. Flitches would have been hung "at the roof" afterwards for the constant smoke to finish the process. Bacon "at the roof" is a constantly recurring item in the inventories of this period. It ought also to be noted here that out of 472 inventories recording possession of pigs, 130 were for one pig only, and it does seem probable that most of these were bought as weaned piglets and simply fattened on. It is a practice which continues to this day in parts of rural England.

Horses did not lend themselves to a price review in the same way as the other animals so far considered, since they were evidently kept for a variety of different reasons and consequently varying standards of judgment applied to their valuation. There were many keepers who simply kept a horse, or maybe 2 horses, to transport themselves, and possibly varying quantities of goods, from one place to another more quickly and conveniently than could be done on foot or by ox-cart. Exactly how many of these as a % of the total there are, it is impossible to be certain of. Some of them were mares, and these were used to breed new stock, either to keep or sell on, and may well have attracted a different valuation on that count. For this reason too it is difficult to be sure of the numbers of usable horses. Such entries as 'a mare and a colt' or 'a mare and a filly' may in truth refer to one usable horse rather than two. In any case, all foals and sucking foals have been left out of the reckoning. But it still seems likely that a fair number of the 3 and 4 horse owners in fact had only one or two usable horses. Another category among multiple horse owners was without doubt the carrier or chapman, and while from 1581 onwards they are mostly identifiable either by direct description or by inference from related items in the inventory, there may be some unidentified, particularly from the early period, among multiple horse owners. Their horses may well have been valued on a different basis. Lastly come those who were quite definitely breeding horses. It is apparent that some of the principal families of the district come regularly into this group; Walton of Hanbury, Milward and Rugeley from Dovebridge, Thyrell of Marchington, Warner of Bramshall, Mynors of Uttoxeter and Adderley of Coton. The types of horses which these country gentry sort of families were breeding quite possibly attracted different valuations again.

However, having made all these reservations about the interpretation of the evidence there are some clear observations to be made. There are in all 488 inventories which record ownership of at least one horse. 237 of these occur in the first 60 years, 70% of all the stockkeepers, and 251 in the second 60 years, 59% of all stockkeepers. Of the 488, 176 had just one horse, and another 116 had 2 horses. In % terms therefore, 80% were one or two horse owners. The figures for Uttoxeter town from 1581 onwards show particularly clearly the pattern of horse ownership there. There are 53 inventories with horses, of which 10 are for 4 or more. Of these 10, 8 are of known carriers or chapmen, one with 14 horses, one with 10, one with 9, two with 8 one with 5 and two with 4. Of the remaining 43 owners, 30 had only one horse, and 11 had two horses.

It is not really practicable to make a series valuation for horses, since the fluctuations are so wide. Even for mares, which are there in large numbers, the differences in value are great. In 1571 John Coke of Marchington had a lame mare valued at 12d., and two years later John Mastergent of Uttoxeter had a grey mare valued at £2.13.4. It may be fairly safely assumed that the first was an old family servant and friend of sentimental value only, while the second was a fine riding horse, although neither inventory describes them that way. John Alcock of Hanbury 1621 specifically bequeathed his best grey mare, with a saddle. This grey mare was valued at £6, greatly exceeding the valuation placed on any other beast at that date. The same comment is true of the gelding valued at £8 in 1638, the property of Michael Henshaw, vicar of Hanbury, and for various others, up to £11, which was the highest price recorded for any beast during the whole period. Horses then, as now, were viewed in a quite different light from beasts kept purely for their commercial value, either in terms of weight, or of their potential yield of milk or wool. The only horses which could possibly have been valued thus are those of the carriers. Edward Pugh's 14 horses were valued at £14 in 1592. His son Richard's 10 horses were valued at £30 in 1609, but this valuation included all their harness and gear. William Nicolles' 5 horses were valued at £8 in 1617. But the numbers are too small to be able to produce an acceptable series. A final note on the subject of horses, referring specifically to the amount of horse-breeding going on, is that Penkridge was not very far away, with its reputation stretching back into the past as a great Horse Fair, and it could well be that some of the local breeders had connections there. William Mower, the Marchington Chantry priest mentioned earlier, referred in his will of 1541 to a Penkridge man who owed him money for stock. His brother Thomas, a

Doveridge yeoman who died in 1538, was certainly a horsebreeder, with a stallion, 7 mares, 2 fillies, 8 yearling colts, and 4 foals among his livestock, and Thomas's son Robert (William's nephew) also had 4 mares, a 2 year old horse colt and 3 yearling colts among his possessions when he died.

Finally in this review of the livestock come poultry and bees. Until 1550 the exact numbers of hens, ducks, and geese are almost always given, but after that date they are increasingly valued as a lump sum, as just poultry or poultry wares. By the decade 1621-30 only 6 out of the 35 inventories listing poultry value them separately, and in the final decade, just 1 out of 11. However, except for the last 20 years there are sufficient numbers in each decade exactly priced to be able to give a broad idea both of price movements and of the actual numbers kept. Until the middle 1550's hens and cocks were almost always 2d. each. During the next 15 years 2½d. and 3d. are the most common prices, and from 1571-90 they were almost all 4d. each. Between 1600 and 1610 there are equal numbers at 4d. and 6d., with one or two at 5d. From 1611-20 they were almost all 6d. During the last 30 years there were only 8 specific valuations, of which 6 were at 4d. and 2 at 6d., so it looks as though their price may have fallen away somewhat. There are sufficient individual prices for geese to show that the same pattern was being followed. The earliest were mainly 4d. each. Between 1561-80 the average was about 6d. The only two exact valuations between 1581-90 were at 8d. each, and the only one in the next decade was 1s. After 1600 they too fall back again, with some at 8d. and some at 6d. There are many less exact valuations for ducks, but the same pattern appears, beginning at 2d. each, rising to 4d. by the turn of the century, and drifting back to 3d. after that.

Altogether 295 of the inventories, about one third of the total, record possession of some sort of poultry. For hens, the numbers kept are quite small. There are a surprisingly large number of owners with just one or two hens, or a hen and a cock. The largest number recorded is 10 and the average, from the 123 keepers with known numbers of hens, 3.59. There were many fewer keepers of ducks, and the average number of birds kept was 4. There were quite a lot of keepers of geese, and 48 of these were of known flock size. Some of the flocks were quite large. 2 owners had 16 geese each and 4 other owners had flocks of 13, 14, 17, and 18 each. The average number kept was 5.72. There is a suspicion that there was poultry kept by more people than is actually recorded in the inventories, particularly the well-to-do folk. It is difficult to believe that some of these would not have kept a few hens. The chances are that they were simply recorded as "other items of husbandry ware".

There are not many records of beekeepers, 42 in all, but they are represented in every decade but the last. 35 of these actually give a price per hive, and there is at least one in each decade. The earliest are 10d.-12d. Between 1561-90 the price rises to 14d.-20d. From 1591-1630 the commonest price is 2s.6d., although towards the end are some at 3s.4d. From 1631-40 there are 5, of which one is 3s.4d. and the others all 5s. The inflationary pattern shown here is very similar to that for cattle and sheep.

The inventories give quite a good picture of the dairy products of the agricultural economy of this area. It is generally accepted that Uttoxeter was an important centre for trade in cheese and butter by the end of the seventeenth century. Plot, writing in 1686, spoke of the volume of trade being so great that London cheesemongers had agents and factors here, who on market days were known to have laid out £500 per day, just in the purchase of these two commodities. The period under consideration here finishes 40 years before Plot wrote, but the evidence for a substantial and increasing cheese production can be seen in inventories from 1590 onwards. There are only a few inventories recording actual numbers of cheeses before that date, the earliest being that of Alice Wetton, a Bramshall widow, who in 1540 had 20 cheeses valued at 3s.4d. altogether. Most inventories do in fact record possession of butter and cheese, but the quantities are not known, and the valuations generally imply fairly small quantities, most probably principally for home consumption, with maybe some very local distribution. Humfrey Holynshed, a Marchington weaver, had in 1566 17 cheeses valued at 5s., a quantity probably implying production for sale. After 1580 the numbers and quantities increase. Thomas Bothby of Marchington 1584 had 32 cheeses valued at 10s., and in 1588 Henry Scott, a Uttoxeter carrier, had 23 cheeses at 11s.6d. and 3 pots of butter at 5s. In 1589 Thomas Taylor, a Creighton husbandman, had 45 cheeses at £1.10s. and 6 pots of butter at 12s. In 1592 Edward Pewe, the Uttoxeter carrier mentioned earlier with a string of 14 horses, had butter and cheese valued at £4. Assuming cheeses of the same size as those of a few years earlier, a fairly substantial stock is implied, somewhere in the region of 80-90 cheeses. By the beginning of the seventeenth century there are really quite a lot of inventory items such as these, and it is also becoming apparent that the cheeses were not all the same size. Many of them value cheeses at 1s. each, or very close to that, implying that they were of a certain style and all approximately the same weight. Clare of Uttoxeter 1609 had 11 for 11s., and Patrick of Bramshall 32 at 33s.4d., for example. But there are also quite a number with cheeses at half this price. Finimore of Uttoxeter 1603 had 50 at 30s., and Holbrooke of Uttoxeter 1613 had 20 cheeses and 1 pot of butter for 12s., which, allowing 2s. for the butter makes the cheeses 6d. each; and only 3 years apart are Finimore 1638 60 cheeses £6, and Langford 1635 60 cheeses £3, 2s. each and 1s. each respectively. There

is also one isolated one, Thomas Shaw of Bramshall 1620 with 23 cheeses valued at 7s.8d., which is 4d. each exactly. It seems likely that cheeses of several different sizes, and possibly types also, were being made, and that the appraisers either actually weighed the cheeses or, as seems at least sometimes likely, knew what the approximate weights of different types of local cheeses were and priced them on a 'per cheese' basis. There is only one inventory from this period which actually gives a weight of cheese, that of Ann Jefferies, a Uttoxeter widow of Woodford, who had 3½ cwt. valued at £3.10s., i.e. £1 per cwt. or 2.14d. per lb. This was in 1648, right at the end of the period, and there is no certainty what fluctuations there may have been in values during the previous 50 years. Nevertheless it does seem most likely that the commonest sizes of cheese would have been a small cylindrical one weighing about 14 lbs., and another commonly occurring one of 7 lbs. There are in all 35 inventories recording cheeses in large enough quantities to indicate that they were probably being traded. The largest in value were Edward Mastergent of Uttoxeter 1621 with £4.10s. worth (4½ cwt. at £1 per cwt., and 36 x 14lb. cheeses) and Henry Gilbert of Marchington Woodlands 1641 with £8 worth (8cwt., and 64 x 14lb. cheeses). The largest number of cheeses appears in the inventory of Elizabeth Wayte, widow of the keeper of Marchington Ward of Needwood Forest, who had 94 cheeses, but these, at 5½d. each approximately, were evidently of a smaller size. The amounts of butter recorded are smaller, but this is to be expected, as butter has a much shorter life.

There are very large numbers of inventories recording possession of cereals, but as noted earlier, not enough with specific valuations to make a series practicable. The commonest form met is simply "corn in the barn and in the field &c". However of the more specific ones met, the most frequent are for acreages of growing cereals, mainly of 2, 3, or 4 acres, with occasional larger ones up to 10 acres. Other areas sometimes occurring are 'leys' and 'lands'. 'Day's work' also occurs as a valuation unit. The crops which appear regularly throughout the period are wheat, barley, oats, rye, dredge, blendcorn, maltcorn, beans, peas, flax, and hemp. Cut grain unthreshed appears most frequently in thraves. A thrave was a variable amount, depending on the locality, but was most likely to have been 24-28 sheaves of grain. Other units of unthreshed cereals which occur are stacks, loads, and wain or cart-loads. Rick and stafford appear once each. Hay also occurs in these units, and jags of hay appear occasionally.

The measure almost invariably used for threshed cereals was the strike. As a dry measure of volume the strike disappeared from official usage in the sixteenth century. According to OED it was normally equal to a bushel, but in some districts equal to half a bushel, and in others to 2 or 4 bushels. One inventory indicates that in this area it was equal to a bushel. William Holbrooke of Marchington 1642 had among his effects 3 measures. They were a strike, a ½ strike, and a peck. These were obviously the three most commonly used dry volume measures and represented the unit, ½ unit, and quarter unit. As the peck is known to be ¼ bushel, the ½ strike was therefore ½ bushel, and the strike 1 bushel. The actual term 'bushel' only occurs once in all the inventories and was evidently not in common use in these parts during this period. Hoop and ½ hoop also appear quite often. The hoop was almost certainly the local term used instead of peck.

Flax and hemp appear regularly in the inventories, both raw and dressed, together with the various types of yarn and material produced from them. The yarns are usually valued by the 'lee'. The length of a lee in this district seems to be no longer known.

Finally, malt appears regularly throughout the period, always measured by the strike, and occasionally in quite large quantities. There was 40 strike in the effects of George Pickforke of Uttoxeter Woodlands in 1618, and 50 strike in those of Anthony Basford of Uttoxeter Woodlands in 1637.

STUDY 2. THE TRADES AND TRADESMEN OF UTTOXETER AND DISTRICT. 1530-1650.

There are almost 200 wills and inventories which either declare the trade of the deceased or from which some trading activity can be inferred, and these do add greatly to the view of the people of the town and its environs at this quite distant period. The greatest number of them are directly connected with the agricultural scene described in the last study in that they were processors of agricultural or rural products.

The first and largest single group of these are those who processed leather. There are 52 of them in all. 17 of them were tanners, for the most part quite wealthy men, and nearly all operating in Uttoxeter itself. The earliest known tanner's will was that of John Fox 1534/5, whose tanhouse and contents, not itemised, were valued at £20, with a further £3 worth of bark. The overseer to his will was Thomas Chamberlain and it was members of this family who dominated the scene in the Uttoxeter skin trade for the entire period. Although there is no will or inventory for this Thomas, he appears as witness or overseer to the wills of a number of men whose families were prominent in the leather trades, Finimore, Spencer, and Taylor, as well as the Chamberlains themselves. Edmund Chamberlain, who died in 1630, was probably one of his sons. He was without doubt an old man when he died, making bequests to grandchildren who were already adult. He was quite well-to-do, with an inventory in excess of £80, leather in tannage worth £36, and a moderate cattle holding. His widow Joan, who died 4 years later, was evidently still an active tanner herself, with 50 cowhides, 6 kips tanned or in tanning in her inventory of £67. This couple's eldest son John had died a year before his mother, in 1633, leaving goods valued at £137. His tannery inventory was less than his mother's, but he had a much more extensive livestock holding than either of his parents. His sister Alice, who was unmarried, was also a tanner, and died just before the end of the period, in 1647. Included in her inventory of about £60 value were 44 hides at 15s. each worth £33. Edward Holbrooke who had died earlier, in 1613, was related to the Chamberlains. His inventory included cowhides, horsehides, calfskins, pigskins, and bark, and was almost £50 in all. 4 of the appraisers of his goods were Richard Allen, Edward Taylor, and William Harrison, all tanners, and Edward Chamberlain, corviser and fellmonger. The wills of all these men survive. Edward Taylor, one of them, died a wealthy man in 1624, with goods worth over £220, including leather and bark within and about his tanhouse worth £60. His inventory is quite unusual in that £141 of it was "*goods belonging to his house in Uttoxeter*" whilst the remaining £79 was "*goods belonging to his wyves house in Beamehurst*". His will however did leave to his wife Margaret all those goods at her own disposing, plus £20 of his own estate. It does illustrate how testamentary affairs could be organized around the fact that married women had no property rights. It is almost certain that she was not his first wife, nor he her first husband, and that she had already been a well-possessed widow when she married him. It also seems likely that this Edward was a very old man, since his father, also Edward, had died 57 years earlier in 1567. He too had been a tanner, the wealthiest of all those in Uttoxeter itself, with an inventory of £325. (The inflationary processes discussed in the last study should be borne in mind in this context.) Included among his assets were "*33 dicker of leather at £4 the dicker som of all £132*." There are 10 hides to the dicker, and 330 hides represents a very considerable stock. There were 40 calfhides in addition. Among people who owed him money at his death were Edward Bott for 1½ dicker of leather, Richard Bakewell £10, and Thomas Heathcote for ½ dicker and 1 hide. The first two of these men were shoemakers whose own wills survive, and the third may have been a saddler, since this was the trade of Edward Heathcote who died in 1606 and was probably his son.

It must be emphasized that for all these men, tannery was only one facet of their rural yeoman farmer lifestyle, although it may be allowed that, for some of them at least, their tannery interests were the principal ones. However for quite a lot of them, tanning was quite clearly a subsidiary activity. There are more than half a dozen who had a tanvat or a tanhouse, but whose inventories reveal very small quantities of leather. Two Marchington tanners illustrate the diversity of interests very well. One was Richard Walton, who died in 1566. He had a really fine livestock inventory, with 8 ploughbeasts, 40 other cattle, 10 horses, 47 sheep, and 6 pigs. Among his personal effects were two steel caps, a salett, and two blackbills, indicating that he was, and his forebears had been, the typical yeomen of England who appeared on the Muster Rolls. He had 61 pieces of pewterware, a large quantity of brassware, 20 silver spoons, and a cup of silvergilt. He had small jewels of gold and silver, rare items in wills of this district at this date, and the large sum of £52 in gold and money. His leather effects comprised 30 dicker of leather, 10 kipskins and 16 dozen calfskins, but nowhere in his will or inventory is there any mention of his being a tanner. Yet it is evident that in some sense of the word he must have been. In his time tanning was just one of the many profitable activities which an enterprising yeoman farmer might have engaged in. There were debts owing to him of £73. Unfortunately they are not itemised, but it would be surprising if some of them were not men in the secondary leather trades, as already instanced in the will of his contemporary, Edward Taylor. Richard Walton's inventory was the largest of all the tanners, at £384. The other Marchington tanner was William Harrison, who died in 1639, and is remarkable for the opposite reason, so to

speak. Although described as a tanner on both will and inventory, there are no tannery goods or premises either recorded or referred to, and yet he was a man of considerable means, with an inventory of almost £250. He had a large holding of livestock and husbandry goods, indicating that he was farming in quite a big way, and he was almost certainly an old man, either a bachelor or a childless widower, since he made more than 30 separate bequests to his sisters, their children and their grandchildren. Debts of £65.17s. due to him may have been connected with his tannery interests, but they are not itemised so there is no way of knowing. He certainly had had Uttoxeter connections, for he had been one of the appraisers of the goods of Edward Holbrooke 25 years earlier, in 1613.

Two primary trades closely connected with tannery are those of skinner and currier. The skinner prepared skins for use, and a currier dressed and coloured them. There is one representative of each in this area. The currier, George Hobston who died in 1609, was a man of no great means, his inventory being under £10, but it is interesting in that it records his working tools, which were a graining board, two shaving knives and a steel, valued together with his frying pan at 16d. The skinner was George Webster als Mottram, who died in 1643 and was a more considerable person altogether. His inventory records 420 calfskins £20, 240 sheepskins £4.10.0, 16 buckskins £1.12.0, 10 doeskins 16s.8d., and leather in the lymes £5. This last item indicated that he was curing skins and not tanning them. Tanning traditionally involves the use of oak bark as the softening and preserving agent, whereas skins were steeped in a lime solution (or sometimes alum) for the curing process. This technique was employed more for lighter weight skins such as those used for jerkins, doublets, and gloves. It is significant that there were no hides in his stock, and also that gloves to the value of £1.8.0 were an item. It seems most likely that he either made gloves himself as well, or that someone else in his household did.

Secondary leather tradesmen appear in quite good numbers. The largest number of them were shoemakers, 18 in all. Included with them are cordwainers, corvisers, and one '*craveter*'. This word does not appear in OED and may simply be a corruption of corviser. The man was Henry Scott who died in 1588. He was a man of moderate means, and was certainly a shoemaker, his inventory including 3 dozen lasts worth 2s.6d., and 3 dozen and 8 pair of shoes worth £2. There were also 23 cheeses, 3 pots of butter and '*small bordes and tressles for taking in howses*'. This implies some other enterprise, but exactly what must remain a mystery. The 5 corvisers who left inventories are also something of an enigma. Only one of them mentions shoes, indeed, leather of any sort. He was Richard Bakewell of Uttoxeter 1585. Among his goods valued at £45 are only 4 pairs of shoes and '*certen liquor*' worth 10s. in all. He was brother to the parson of Bramshall, and quite evidently principally a yeoman farmer. Two of the others were active tradesmen in other quite unrelated spheres. Richard Pickeforke of Uttoxeter Woodlands 1585 had among his possessions 10 strikes of malt; his will also records 10 men who owed him money for malt, over 40 strikes in all. As he also owned 14 horses with '*all packsaddles, paniers, bags, sacks, girthes, and such lyke implements*', it seems likely that he was also either a maltster or a carrier, or both. The other corviser was Richard Alte who, when he died in 1627, had meal in his cellar worth 4s. and bread for sale worth 8s. He did have working tools, his working board, and '*other stuffe*' worth 8s., but these, except for a liming pan, could as well have been connected with bakery as leatherwork. The remaining shoemakers were for the most part moderately well off, and most of them have trade effects recorded in their inventories. The earliest was Thomas Pixley 1539. His will is in poor condition, with parts missing, but in his shop were ready made shoes and boots, with lasts, knives, and a dicker of leather. Values for these goods are missing. There was also a liquor house, with three barrels of set liquor in it. This was of course the liquor used by shoemakers in the preparation of their leather. There were also 3 quart pots, 4 pint pots, 2 gill pots and 2 tin goblets among his possessions, which indicate that he may have kept an alehouse also. There was another Thomas Pixley almost 100 years later, also a shoemaker, who may have been a descendant, but his inventory is a very modest one and contains no trade items. 2 members of the Chamberlain family were shoemakers, William 1601, and his son Christopher 1619. There is no evidence in their wills to connect them definitely to the tanners discussed earlier, but it would be surprising if they were not related. One of William's debtors was Edward Chamberlain, Edmund's son, and Edmund himself was one of the appraisers of Christopher's goods in 1619. This inventory included ½ dicker of leather, a quantity of other leather, dry and liquored, tallow, train oil, and liquor, with all the tools and implements of his shop, valued in all at £19.13.0. He also owned books worth 6s.8d., and was quite a wealthy man, his whole inventory totalling over £80. William and Robert Spencer, father and son, were both shoemakers who died within 5 years of each other in 1623 and 1628, of moderate means, the elder's effects being worth £46.6.4 and the younger's £29.2.6. Among Robert's effects were 3 doz. shoes, 1 pair of boots, 7 hides and 2 halfskins, with broken leather, lasts, and implements of his trade. The last item of his inventory was '*His apparell his purse and his Testament*'. He was, like most of his contemporaries, a religious man, and also literate. He was married to Mary Chamberlain, one of the daughters of Edmund the tanner, and his overseers were his brothers-in-law Edward and Francis Chamberlain. All these men could write well, and their signatures often appear on other wills. It is of interest to note that it was probably this Robert Spencer's

uncle John Spencer who went to London, and ultimately became librarian at Sion House. His grandmother Isobel Spencer was wife of an earlier Robert, a butcher in the town. She was born Isobel Pickeforke, the daughter of Richard Pickeforke the corviser cum maltster cum carrier mentioned above. Once again it can be seen how closely knit this community of leather tradesmen was.

There are less surviving wills and inventories for glovers, 11 in all, but in some ways they have a greater fascination, principally because of the very large variety of skins used by them. They evidently made woollen gloves too, since almost all those with trade inventories possessed wool in quantity as well. 2 of these glovers were named John Taylor, and were either brothers or cousins, since they both named Richard Flyer as their cousin in their wills. The first, who died in 1567, was described in his will as glover and innholder. His inn was the Crown. He left his interest in this lease to his daughter Margaret and her husband Richard Ward of Derby if they would occupy it themselves, otherwise to his cousin Richard Flyer, who was to distribute the income from his estate to the Uttoxeter poor. The 2nd John Taylor died 20 years later. His 4 married children, all of whom had children of their own, were to receive £20 each out of a bill of specialty upon his cousin Richard Flyer. The residue of this bill was to remain with the said Richard *"by whom I have received gret Proffett and hath hyne ever my good frynde"*. His trade wares are listed in detail and include 6 doz. sheepskins in the 'lymes', 1 doz. small sheepskins, 3 stone of wool, 4 white tawed horse hides, 4 doz. frysed leather, 7 little tegskins, 28 calvesleather skins, 4 dogskins, 6 coneyskins, 14 pair of mittens, 11 doz. pair of gloves, 2 score of points and 3 doz. purses. Another glover, Hugh More, who died 2 years later in 1589 was the wealthiest of all the glovers. His inventory of over £100 included 800 skins in the 'lymes', 300 dressed sheepskins, 300 woolfells, 6 each of buckskins and doeskins undressed, 76 dressed buckskins, 120 dressed doeskins, 11 doz. calfskins, 5 doz. frysed lambskins, 1 doz. dogskins, 40 stone of best white wool (priced at £6.13.4) and middle and coarse wool (priced at £5) which would have been considerably more than 40 stone. Most of the glovers have a similar variety of skins among their possessions, but in smaller quantities. Edward Morley, who died in 1613, had additionally 3 fillmart skins. This word, although it does not appear in OED is almost certainly a local form of foumart or foulemart, the polecat. It is evident that the glovers cured skins of every kind which were locally available. There must have been deer in large numbers in the woodlands around Uttoxeter at this date, and the polecat was not the rarity that it is today in this country. It is interesting to note also that dogskins appear in most of the glovers' effects, but catskins never do.

The only other secondary leather tradesman was a saddler, Edward Heathcote 1606. His inventory lists saddler's wares at 16s.10d., but they are not itemised. He had 6 children, but only two of them are actually named in his will; it is therefore quite possible that Ralph Heathcote, a shoemaker who died in 1624, was one of them.

Finally in this consideration of those men involved in the processing of skins are the fellmongers, not because they are the least, but because they really belong to both the leather and wool trades, in that they were primary handlers of rough untreated skins of all kinds, but principally sheep. There were only two, but they were the wealthiest of all the Uttoxeter tradesmen so far considered. The first was Edward Chamberlain, another of the children of Edmund, the tanner. At his death in 1535 his goods were valued at £326 and included leather, fells, and wool of all kinds, a number of valuable leases, a substantial list of book debts and £20 in money. The other was Edward Finnimore who died in 1640, an elderly man making bequests to many grandchildren. His antecedents are interesting. His grandfather John Fynmore had died in 1553, a yeoman farmer of moderate means, but evidently connected with the leather trade, since Thomas Chamberlain and Robert Spencer were his overseers. He had two sons, Robert, who died in the prime of life in 1560, a shearmonger, and Edward, a tailor who died in 1603. Robert left his interest in a fulling mill to his brother Edward, and this may well have helped Edward's son, also Edward, in his trade. This Edward Finnimore (the Elder according to his will of 1640; Edward the Younger, a glover, had died in 1627) had married Ann, the only child of Edward Taylor the wealthy tanner who died in 1624 leaving the residue of his estate to his daughter Ann and son-in-law Edward Finnimore her husband. No doubt this advantageous marriage furthered his business interests. At his death his goods were valued at £260.11.6. He too had leather and wool of all kinds, and is the only man known to have possessed furs for curing. He also had a substantial farm inventory, including 4 ploughoxen and 23 other beasts, and as a further indication of the diversity of his interests, 20 yards of coarse cloth and 60 cheeses. Among 59 items he possessed made of pewter were a chamberpot and an aquavit bottle. It is interesting too that his pewterware and brassware were valued by weight. It may be that this was commonly done, but inventories rarely say so. His 59 pewter pieces weighed 75lb and were valued at £3.15.0, i.e. 1s. per lb.

It is quite apparent from this short survey of the leather tradesmen that Uttoxeter was an important centre during this period. The tanners, glovers, shoemakers, and fellmongers were mostly wealthy men. Their businesses were family affairs, and these families were nearly all Uttoxeter ones. Generally those testators who died leaving younger unmarried daughters left instructions that they should marry with the consent and approval

of their mothers, or brothers, or kinsmen, or overseers, with the obvious intention of safeguarding the family's business interests. Table 7, showing some family trees compiled from information from wills, illustrates this, to some extent. It is a pity that Parish Register information, which can add greatly to such trees, is not surviving for Utttoxeter prior to 1597. It is also clear that the quantity of finished products would have been far too great to have been absorbed by the local population alone. It would be expected that there would be evidence for a fair number of carriers in Utttoxeter, and indeed this is illustrated later in this study, when the service industries are considered.

It was noted in the previous Study that sheep were a much more important part of the agricultural economy on the other side of the Dove. This comment should be qualified further, in that sheep were an important part of upland agricultural economy at this date, and such landscapes are very close to Utttoxeter. Apart from those large sheepkeepers already mentioned, men from these uplands would undoubtedly have looked to Utttoxeter as their trading focus. It would be expected there would be evidence for large numbers of sheepfells passing through Utttoxeter tradesmen's hands. The price for a sheepskin, calculated from George Webster the skinner's inventory, was about 4½d., and of a sheepfell, from Edward Finnimore the fellmonger's inventory, about 6½d. These two are more or less contemporary, so the actual number of fells represented by the £60 worth in Edward Chamberlain's inventory, for instance, was upwards of 2000, and is indeed evidence of a substantial trade in these commodities. It would also be expected that tradesmen processing material of this kind would appear among Utttoxeter and district wills and inventories. There are 37 of them in all, 1 dyer, 6 shearmen, 18 websters, 6 tailors and 6 cappers.

The dyer was John Greatrakes, who died in 1558 with effects valued at £142.5.8., including 1¼ cwt. of 'mathes', ½ cwt. of alum, 28lb. of brazil, 42lb. of coperas, and 10lb. of galls. His lead vats weighed 2 tons and were valued at £10. He had also, for this area and this date, an extraordinarily large amount of actual money, £90.19.4.

The shearmen were men of very moderate means generally. Robert Fynmore, mentioned briefly above who died in 1563, had 2 pairs of shearmen's shears valued at 10s. out of an inventory of only £5.13.0, but this did not include the value of his title to a fulling mill in Rochester which he left to his brother. His list of debtors is most interesting. They were all described as owing him "for ye workmanshippe of cloth." They were Richard Sebridge, Thos. Abell, Goodwife Shawe of Beamhurst, Mistress Starkey of West Broughton, Mr. John Draycott Esq., Thos. Drakeford of Nobut, Mr. Edward Mynors Esq., Thos. Taylor of Creighton, Richard Smith of Gorsty Hill, Thos. Spenser and Willm. Sterten. The sums were all quite small, varying between 7d. and 4s.10d. Finally he noted that "*Willm. Loton of Bromley abbots als Bromley Pagetts for the myllynge of clothe and for ye occupacon of a payre of shorman sheares wch he now hath of myne*" owed him 3s. Most of these names are identifiable with local well-to-do families. It is evident that Robert Fynmore had good connections. Edward Percyvall, who died a year earlier, is not described in his will as a shearmen, but his inventory discloses 10 pairs of shearmen's shears worth £4 and tenters worth £1. He too had a list of debtors in quite small amounts, including Willm. Babyngton Esq., Willm. Dickenson Bailiff of Utttoxeter, Mr. Lee of the Old Park, and Lettice Smith of Crakemarth. The reason for their indebtedness is not given, but it seems likely to have been the same as for Robert Fynmore. Only one of the shearmen was not a Utttoxeter man, Willm. Miles of Marchington, who died in 1609. Among his possessions were "*things belonging to the trade of sherman*" which he left to his son John, together with all the things in his shop.

The 6 cappers were all Utttoxetermen. The earliest was John Eaves, who died in 1563. Among his goods were 23lb. weight of caps, with other wool. His will has a clause about his daughter and only child not marrying without the consent of his Supervisors, who were Richard Flyer his landlord and Arthur Blount the vicar. Among Edmund Allen's effects in 1602 were 1½ stone of white wool, a stone each of green and blue wool, 20 dozen caps, some finished and some unfinished, his plate and working tools. His will is very detailed and gives additional colour to this local tradesman's world. He left '*half a hundred of teasels*' to John Ball (presumably another capper although nothing else is known of him), and a French Crown each to Margaret Allen his sister-in-law and Elizabeth Allen of London. His servant Henry Worrell (almost certainly his apprentice) received 3s.4d. and a pair of capper's gears. His velvet girdle went to William Poker, and his bow and best coat to John Clark. He left "*....to Edward Buckland my godson my dublett that my brother Frances gave me....*" Edward Buckland was a capper also and died in 1629, but only part of his will survives, without inventory. Two other cappers died intestate, but have interesting trade inventories. Francis Taylor was one. His goods, valued at £80.16.0 in 1635, included 20 doz. caps worth £14, 14 doz. unthicked caps worth £9 and wool liquor. One of his appraisers was Edward Finnimore the fellmonger, so it seems not unlikely that he had been related to Edward's wife Ann who was born Taylor.

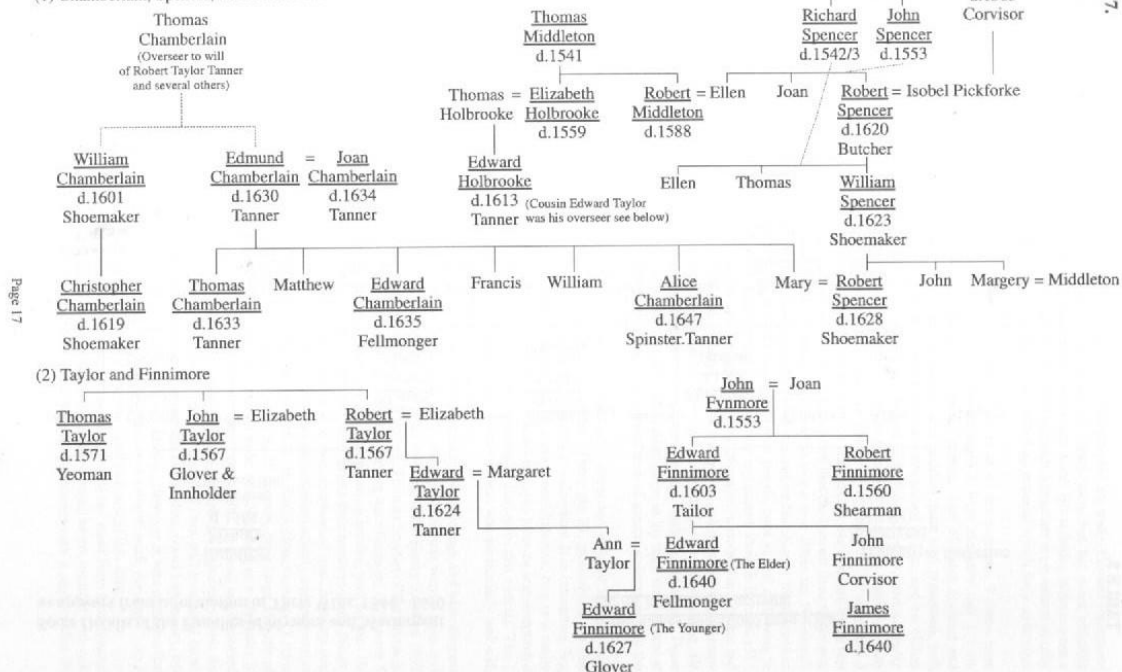
4 of the tailors came from Utttoxeter and 2 from Doveridge. None of them could be described as wealthy. The only 2 with effects worth over £30 were Willm. Birde of Utttoxeter 1616 and Roger Fletcher of

Some Details of the Relationships of the Uttoxeter Leather & Wool Tradesmen as appears from evidence in their wills 1541-1640
(1) Chamberlain, Spencer, and Holbrooke.

Those names underlined have wills and/or Inventories surviving

Richard Pickeforke
d.1585
Corvisor

TABLE 7.

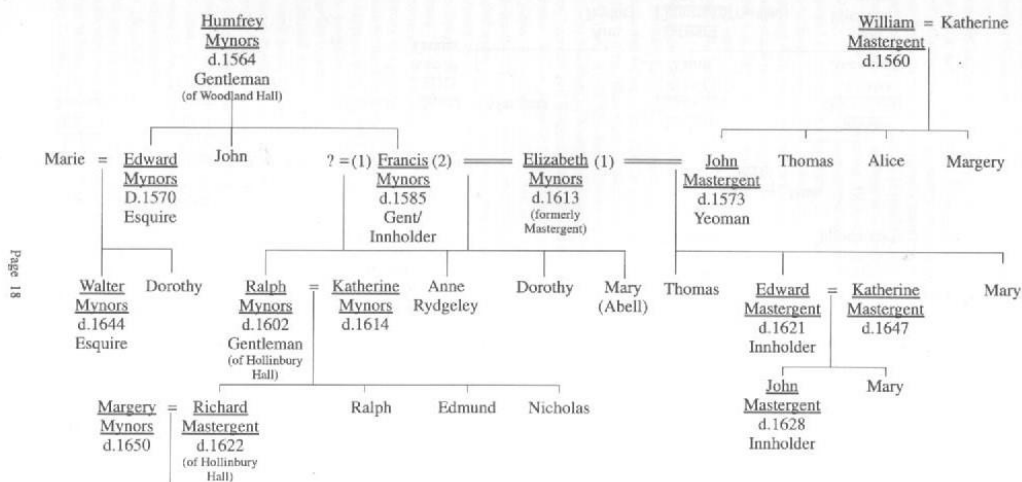


(2) Taylor and Finnimore

Some Details of the Families of Mynors and Mastergent as appears from information in Their Wills. 1544 - 1650

Those names underlined have wills and/or Inventories surviving

TABLE 8.



Dovebridge 1650, and neither record any items in any way connected with the tailor's trade. Edward Finnimore of Uttoxeter 1603 (the father of the Fellmonger) did have 28 lee of round yarn, but his most valuable possessions were his cattle and 44 cheeses. Nicholas Milnehouse was really poor. His tailoring effects were a pair of shears, a thimble, and a pressing iron, valued in all at 6d., and his goods altogether were valued at only £2.15.10 in 1615. It seems likely that most of the tailors at that time worked up material which their customers brought in to them.

The 18 weavers for whom records survive were spread over most of the parishes. 9 were from Uttoxeter (including 3 in Loxley), 3 from Bramshall, 3 from Newborough, 2 from Hanbury and 1 from Marchington. There were 3 named Mawe, who it seems likely were all related. Two of them, Richard and Christopher, were certainly brothers who lived at Loxley. Christopher died in 1635 quite well possessed, with 13 cattle, 18 sheep, 2 pigs and 2 horses. His looms and other items of trade were valued at 30s., and his effects in all at £53.13.0. His brother Richard died 6 years later and his will begins "*I Richard Mawe webster sujirning at the howse of Widdoe Mawe of Great Loxley....*". He also asked "*...to be buryed as neare my brother as may bee...*" His weaving loom and a pinwheel were valued at 13s.4d., and there were also 4lb. of wool and 5 slippings of yarn. He had quite a large list of debtors, mainly from Gratwich and Loxley, but it seems likely that this money was loans out at interest rather than service debts, since he specified that the interest from the money owing at Gratwich should be collected by one Thomas Thacker and used to buy a new Bible for the church there. Another Uttoxeter weaver, Robert Coxie 1624, left a charitable trust secured on his close at Monksfield to provide £2 per annum to be distributed at Lady Day and Michaelmas to poor people born in and still living in Uttoxeter. Some of the inventories record specific details about their working equipment. Francis Bennett 1594 had 3 weavers looms with 9 linen gears and 2 woollen gears, warpstock, and ringrathes, pinwheel and lachet and 4 pairs of temples. John Robotham of Hanbury 1575 had 3 weavers looms with gears, one of which was a kersey gear. Robert Butler bequeathed a bastard loom to his son James in 1559. James died in 1610 a wealthy man. He owned 2 premises in the town itself, and a number of grounds and pastures in the fields round about. These reversions were worth almost £27. His four weaving looms together with other items in his shop were valued at £4, and he also owned 15 cattle. The weavers generally seem to have been men of greater substance than the tailors.

The next group of tradesmen who appear in some numbers also depended entirely on the local environment for their activities. They are those who worked with timber. There are 21, possibly 22, in this group, 3 sawyers, 7 carpenters, 7 coopers, 3 turners, a shingler, and possibly a wainmaker. It is interesting, but not really surprising, that a minority of these men, only 7 out of the 22, came from Uttoxeter. Nor is it really surprising that more than half of them were Newborough men, since Newborough was more or less surrounded by the Forest of Needwood, which must have been one of the main sources of timber in this district. The 3 known sawyers all died before 1600 and all came from Newborough. None of them was particularly well-off, and no tools or trade items appear among their inventories.

Of the 7 carpenters, 4 came from Uttoxeter, and 1 each from Hanbury, Newborough and Marchington Woodlands. The earliest was John Chatfyld of Uttoxeter woodlands 1571. Among his effects were 2 trees and sawn boards, a ladder and cart, all timber such as panelling timber, and his working tools. Henry Knefton 1602 owned a whipsaw and a framing saw, with other carpenter's tools and 3 ladders. Thomas Smythe of the Brook in Marchington Woodlands was not described as a carpenter in his will, but among his effects in 1573 were 5 wimbles, an adze, a square, a lataxe, 3 chisels, 3 planes, a handsaw, a framing saw, a hatchet, and an axe. He seems more likely to have been one of those substantial country yeoman, who turned their hands to many things, since, in addition to a big livestock inventory he also had bark, lime, and ½ cwt. of unworked iron, implying that he may have been a tanner and a smith as well. The woodworking tools are nevertheless a fairly comprehensive collection. Another similar man was Thomas Hinckley of Thorneylanes 1611. He had 4 ploughbeasts, 27 other cattle and a half share in a bull, 17 sheep, geese, ducks, and hens, 2 beehives, 50 cheeses, quite large amounts of woollen and linen cloth made up, and also of raw wool, tow, and yarn. Yet he was described as a carpenter in his will. His working tools were a mere 10s., out of a total inventory value of over £100. He lived in a 6 roomed house, of which at least 3 of the rooms had glazed windows, since the glass was valued separately with the contents of each room. He had a yew bow, and could write well, for he signed his own will in a good hand. Thomas Whittington and Francis Poole, 2 of the gentry folk of Newborough at that date, owed him money, but whether it was for his trade services or for livestock transactions is not known. However it was recorded that "*...Mr. Roger Warner oweth me satisfaction for a coulte that was drowned in a sawepit made for him...*" so it appears that he certainly was a carpenter. The Warners were a Bramshall family of note at that date.

6 of the 7 coopers for whom records survive were from Newborough, and the other from Marchington Woodland. He was Thomas Fleeming 1612. Over £13 worth of cooper's timber already hewn, together with oak, ash, and other timber at Hanbury Woodend are recorded among his effects. At Newborough it appears that the

families of Wetton and Cotton were prominent coopers. Although actual documents for only 2 Wettons and 1 Cotton survive, all of the seventeenth century, evidence in wills in the district reveals 4 more Cottons and 2 more Wettons, covering virtually the whole period. One of the executors of Richard Egginton of Agardsley 1546 was a Thomas Wetton, cooper; and in 1575 James Dixon, out of 2000 of cooper's timber, left 400 staves and all his ash to a William Cotton. The coopers' inventories generally reveal possession of oak and ash, pailstaves, barrelstaves, hoops, and large and small bottoms, all in considerable quantity. Francis Cotton 1634 left to one of his sons *"...al the sawen bordes on a loft under the pear...."*

All the coopers seem to have been fairly prosperous men. It is to be expected that there would have been a good number of coopers in sixteenth and seventeenth century communities. Virtually every inventory has *"peales, lomes, and boukes"* and at that time all these items were made of wood and were coopers' work.

Very little is known about the 3 turners. Two were from Uttoxeter, Oldfield father and son. The father's Christian name is not known. His widow when she died in 1575 left to her son William all the timber *'being turners ware'*. William himself died in 1589. There was no timber listed among his effects, just his working tools, valued at 4s. The other turner was Humfrey Harrison of Newborough 1543. He had *'4 yrons for his occupacyon 4d'* and bequeathed to his son Richard *"...al such tymber as shalbe mete for my occupacyon that is to saye byrth willo oller and mapull growing within my landes..."*

John Roberts of Hoarcross in Newborough 1554 was described as a shingler in his will, but neither it nor his inventory contain any reference to items of trade. Lastly in this group of tradesmen is Richard Hall of Hanbury 1586, who may have been a wainmaker, but also may have been a smith. The wainstrakes, wainrails, and harrow tynes of his inventory have already been referred to.

This completes the survey of those who processed local materials, or who were engaged in simple manufacture from locally produced materials. To them must be added those who engaged in simple manufacture using materials which were not locally produced. There are only 7 of these, 1 glazier, 1 sievemaking and 6 smiths.

The glazier was Thomas Sherratt of Callowhill in Kingstone 1634. It is curious that the only unvalued items in a substantial inventory were *'glasse lead and glasse ready made'*. Presumably the appraisers did not know what the values should be and left it to be filled in later. He lived in an 8 roomed house, and owned 20 cattle and 2 horses. He left instructions that some of his lands should be put out to rent for 5 years by his executors, and £5 per annum of this set at interest to provide marriage portions for his two daughters, and the income from another landholding at Heatley in Bagots Bromley parish to provide for his widow's maintenance, with the residue finally going to his son. It seems likely that all his children were minors. The presence of 3 spinning wheels and a reel among his effects shows something of the female contribution to a rural household economy at this date.

The sievemaking is an uncertain attribution. He was William Milnehouse of Newborough 1593. He died intestate, and although the inventory describes him as a husbandman, it contained *'certaine tooles for a sievemaking'* valued at 1s., and a piece of unwrought iron valued at 4d.

The number of smiths for whom probate records survive is surprisingly small, and it is even more surprising that, of the 6, none is from Uttoxeter Town itself, although there was one from Stramshall and one from Loxley. However, like the coopers, there is evidence in the wills for at least as many smiths again for whom no record survives. It may have been that most of them never achieved much substance, but it is really impossible to say. Those for whom records do survive seem to have been quite well off. The Loxley man was William Scott 1588, whose will has much interesting detail. He left an anvil to his son John, and if he should have no heirs, to his apprentice Thomas Scott, who was probably a fairly close relation. His eldest son William got the smithy and all the tools in it. His daughter was left £20 in the form of a bond on a Leeshill man, but the son William was to be allowed the income from half this bond until Michaelmas 1591, when he was to repay the whole sum to his sister; she in turn then had to pay to her brother John *'10 strakes of iron to bind a wain'* which William Scott senr. owed him. It does appear that both the sons were already working smiths, either with their father, or at any rate not very far away. Matthew Roe of Draycott in Hanbury 1649 also left a will with much interesting detail. His eldest son inherited his house and land both free and copy, with the barns building and shop. His 2nd. son was to be paid £40 within 4 years, and his daughter Isabell £30 *'if shee doe marry to her mother and brothers likinge within 4 years next after my departure of this lyfe.'* If his wife should remarry then the son was to pay her 20s. every May Day for the rest of her life, but if she should remain unmarried and the 2 of them could not agree to live together, then the son was to pay her £3.6.8. annually at Michaelmas for the rest of her life. His effects were worth £91.10.4., including a list of 18 debtors without other detail. It was probably not all good debt, since the will refers to moneys owed to him *'sperate and unsperate'*. At least 3 generations of Cowappes, an old spelling of Cope, were smiths at Blythebridge in Kingstone. Arthur Cowappe, the 2nd-generation, owned *"...one studie, 1 pair of bellows, 5 pr. of tonnges, 3 hamers, a smithes vice and all other little tooles necessarie with 2 grindlestons £3...."* in 1598. He evidently carried materials about, for he also

owned 3 horses, 2 packsaddles, 3 pr. of horsegears, a hackney saddle and bridle, a pr. of panniers and a pr. of budgets. Among his list of creditors, mostly for quite small sums, were Kawthern of Uttoxeter for iron 10s., and Gillam of Uttoxeter for iron 7s.3d. His widow Elizabeth died in 1606 and left "...to my son George Coap one paire of bellows and a studie that were hys grandfathers...". Nothing is known of the grandfather, but he was evidently a smith also. The rest of the smithy tools went to her other son John. There was 60lb. of iron in her inventory, and much evidence too of those other rural domestic economic activities, with 4 spinning wheels, 49lb. of rough hemp and 3lb. of hemp ready to spin.

The next group of tradesmen to be considered are those concerned with foodstuffs. The only known baker and maltster have already been mentioned, since they were both corvisors according to their wills. Apart from these two there were 5 millers, 10 butchers and a fishmonger. 2 of the millers were from Dovebridge, James and Thomas Swenson, father and son. The father's will of 1585 records that there were 2 mills, but their exact locations are not certain. The other 3 millers were from Uttoxeter and two of them were also father and son, both Robert Sherwin. None of these millers had effects of much value. The younger Sherwin did own '3 hounes' valued at 1s.6d. Assuming these were 3 dogs, it is the only inventory in the entire collection which records their possession. (There were plenty of dogskins found their way to the glovers, though.) The 5th. miller had a much larger inventory, but £38 of this was the value of one lease. For the other men no value of the lands they were occupying is given. It must be borne in mind that this is always a problem when assessing the actual worth of testators at this date. The values of leases only appear when the appraisers had the appropriate information to hand; values of copyholds for life or lives or for land held in fee simple are never given. It is these last classes of tenure which were the most valuable of all possessions.

All the butchers were from Uttoxeter parish. Well-known names figure among them, Dynes, Poker, and Spenser, and they were mostly men of means, no doubt closely connected with the tanners and leathermen generally, for it was to them that a quite valuable part of the animal passed. Robert Spencer 1620 had a house in 'market steed' and another in Balance Street, with 2 crofts. James Poker, also 1620, had specialties worth £25, so was evidently lending out money at interest. John Rodderam's inventory of 1577 recorded butchers' knives and cleavers. He was apparently not a native of Uttoxeter, since he asked to be buried in the churchyard at Walsall.

The fishmonger is one of the most fascinating characters who appear in sixteenth century Uttoxeter. His trade inventory is very detailed, and it is of great interest to have such a clear picture of what fish was sold in an inland Midlands market town in 1578. He was Thomas Pindar, and that section of his inventory is quoted in full here, with the money values changed into Arabic numerals.

8 hundred of stockfyshe price	10.13.4.
one hundred and 3 quarterons of great code	8.0.0.
17 copple of great linge	3.8.0.
a quarteron of small lynge	15.0.
halfe a hundred and 4 copple of smale haberdyne	1.6.8.
3 quarterons and halfe of grene saltfishe and grene linge	2.0.0.
3 barrills of pitche and tare	1.10.0.
9 copple of smale ould lynge	1.10.0.
a quarteron of lynge	1.13.4.
a quarteron of rasones	2.0.
2 barrills of honney	6.0.0.
16 stonne of tallowe and candells	1.10.0.
a quarteron of hoppes	7.0.
2 grose of trenchers	2.8.
all maner of nayles	6.4.
in wycyarne	6.8.
1 pounce of pepper	2.0.

There are some strange bedfellows here, to modern eyes. It looks as though he was a candlemaker as well as a fishmonger. It is possible that honey, raisins, and hops might have had something to do with fish preserving or cooking, and pitch or tar might have been used to seal up boxes containing pickled fish, but three barrels is a very large amount. 2 gross of trenchers is the most intriguing item, since it postulates the likelihood that his shop was also a cookshop, serving cooked fish for local folk to eat in or outside his premises. It is difficult to imagine any other reason why he should have owned such a large number of wooden platters. The stockfish were generally fish of the cod family, split open and dried hard in the air without any curing. The method is still much used in warmer climates. Great cod were the modern cod. Haberdyne was a smaller fish of the cod family, usually dried and salted. Green fish was fresh, neither cured nor smoked. Old ling was salted ling. It seems likely that Thomas Pindar was not a Uttoxeter native, since the name does not occur again during

the period. He had a brother who was a London goldsmith, and who owed him the large sum of £60. Another brother, one of his overseers, came from Estofte in Lincolnshire, and this may well have been the direction from which his seafish came. (The Trent was navigable as far as Nottingham, so fresh fish could have reached Uttoxeter quite quickly.) His other overseer was his mother-in-law Elizabeth Startin, wife of William Startin of Uttoxeter, so he was obviously connected with the town through his marriage to their daughter Anne. However there is another dimension to this man's career, since there exists a Petition made to the Privy Council in 1567 by Thomas Pynder, master of the Free School in Uttoxeter, for the restoration of payment of his annual stipend as master. Apparently, lands upon which the payment of the salaries of the masters of the two Alleyne foundations at Uttoxeter and Stone had been charged were the subject of an inheritance dispute at that time, and while the matter was sub judice, the salaries were not being paid. The petition says of Thomas Pynder and his fellow master that they "...being of small ability not having whereof to bear themselves but only their stipend are by means of lack of payment thereof come in debt for such necessities as for them was and is convenient so that they are not able to continue in bringing up of youth....". His petition was supported by 'ten worshipful and honest inhabitants of Uttoxeter' who were Thos. Kynnersley, Edward and Ralph Mynors, John Bott, Robert and John Taylor, Thomas Harte, John Mastergent, John Dynes, and William Allen. The dispute was settled by 1569 at the latest, for a receipt for his yearly salary by Thomas Pynder for that year exists among the records at Trinity College, Cambridge. It does seem highly likely that Thomas Pindar the fishmonger and Thomas Pynder the schoolmaster were one and the same person. It also seems very probable that he was overstating his case in his plea of poverty in the 1567 petition, but this very commonly was (and indeed still is) done in such pleas. Certainly when his inventory was made he was no pauper, with effects in excess of £120. He may well have been a member of the Fishmongers' Company, and his brother must have been a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, two of the oldest of the 12 Great Livery Companies of London, with charters dating from 1289 and 1328 respectively. Whether or not he was still master of the Free School at the time of his death is not known, but he probably was. His status in terms of public prestige would at that date have been much more as a fishmonger than as a schoolmaster, and this would account for his description in his will.

The remaining tradesmen to be considered in this study are those who offered some sort of service to the general public, or who simply bought and sold goods. There are 28 of them in all, 3 mercers, 3 barbers, 3 ironmongers, 8 carriers, 5 pedlars or pettychapmen and 6 innkeepers. It might be argued that innkeepers ought not to be put here, since it is almost certain that at this date they all brewed all their own beer, and quite possibly distilled as well. Wine was the only thing which was definitely imported from abroad. But the fact remains that the service aspect of their activities looms larger than the manufacturing aspect.

The 3 mercers were all from Uttoxeter and were all wealthy men. There is no doubt that, like Thomas Pindar, they would have been members of their prestigious guild, in their case, the Mercers' Company. Robert Bothbie was a member of an ancient yeoman family from Marchington, several of whom appear among London Merchant Guilds. His inventory in 1588 totalled £773, the largest for anyone in the area in the sixteenth century. Wares in his shop and warehouse were valued at £325.2.8., but sadly there is no detailed list surviving. The same comment serves for the other two, William Beech and Francis Sergeant, who died in the same year, 1639. William Beech's inventory actually states '*Mercery, drapery, grocery, haberdashery and salter wares with other goods in the Shop as by a note of particulars may fully appear £136.17.8.*', but the note of particulars has long since gone. For Francis Sergeant the wares, shop, and leases were valued at £242.10.0.

Of the 3 barbers one, John Wilde 1635, was a barber chirurgion. '*Instruments of churgery in his shop*' were valued at £5, but no details of them are given. The other 2 men were barbers in the modern sense. William More's shop in 1562 was furnished with a table, 2 trestles, a coffer, a press, and a shaving pot. The third was Thomas Dudley who in 1616 left a nuncupative will. As noted in the previous study, nuncupative wills often have that graphic quality which brings people and circumstances to life. Very occasionally a character appears who, even at a distance of several centuries, displays an eccentricity which is quite irresistible. Thomas Dudley's will is quoted here entire.

Memorandum that upon the five and twentieth daie of May in the yeare of our Lord god 1616 Thomas Dudley of Uttoxeter in the countie of Staffordshire Barber made and ordained his last will and testament nuncupative in manner and forme followinge. First he comended his soule to God and his bodie to the earth Item he said Thomas Dudley the Testator having sent for Richard Startin and Edward Allen to come unto him who when they were come he told them that he had sent for them to make them his Executors and soe he desired them to be, and to dispose of all his goodes as they thought fitt among his frends and kinsfolkes. Item the said Testator beinge asked by the said Richard Startin and Edward Allen what he would give unto Constance Dudley his wife he answered that she had sufficient alreadye And further being moved by the said Executors whether he would give unto his said wife three kyne which he the said Testator had, he answered that she did not deserve a calfe. Moreover the said Testator being demanded by the said Executors what he would bestowe upon his

brother William Dudley, he answered that a groate was too much for him And likewise beinge asked what he would give unto his brother William Dudleys children, he answered he would not sett down anie thing what they should have but referred that unto the discrecon of his said Executors, desiringe that their said father should have nothinge to doe therewith until they attained the age of XXI ty yeares. Itm the said Testator beinge also moved what he would give unto Mary Dudley his kinswoman he answered that she had been willinge and painfull but now of late was growne idle, therefore he putt it to the said Executors dyscrecon. Which wordes were spoken and acknowledged by the said Testator the day and yeare above written in the presence of William Dudley Mary Dudley and Margaret Dudley.

The witnesses were presumably his servant and kinswoman Mary, his brother William, and one of William's children. The expressions on all their faces while listening to his comments about them can only be imagined, but the scenario is a truly comic one. His inventory, with its pewter basin, napkins and aprons, a glass and a brush, a lattis and 2 iron marks, conveys a picture of this seventeenth century barber's shop, even to the lattis, which was the sign outside his shop advertising his trade. It also notes that he had £153 owing to him in debts by bonds. He, like many others in this period, was lending out money at interest. £153 was a large sum.

The 3 ironmongers were William Rotheram 1618, George Wilson 1612, and Robert Gilbert 1649. This last named was the father of John Gilbert the ironmonger whose inventory is quoted entire in Staffordshire Studies 1987 pp.123-6. There is no detailed inventory for Robert, but his shop goods were valued at £125.9.0, £22 more than his son's 11 years later. However there is a splendid detailed inventory of the shopgoods of George Wilson 1612, which is given at the end of this Study. It is interesting to compare it with the similar one of almost 50 years later. It is also worth noting here that a memorandum forming a nuncupative will for Alice Gillam als Wilson in 1629 survives, which could indicate that there had been a late sixteenth century marriage connection between these 2 families. (cf. the will of Arthur Cowappe the smith in 1598, in which he owed Gillam of Uttoxeter for iron.)

The 8 carriers were all from Uttoxeter. The earliest was William Phillips 1587, whose trade inventory included 8 packhorses and mares with all their furniture, a colt with gears, a sidesaddle, packsaddletree, packcloth, cord, wantie, and surcingle, 2 iron beams and 2 pr.of balances, 2 pr.of little beams with brass scales, all the weights chalks and rosin, a wareboard and shelf. Details of some of his carrying transactions are of great interest. It would appear that, sometimes at any rate, he actually bought the goods he was carrying, presumably expecting to make his profit at the final destination of the goods. In his inventory are 48 bales of flax valued at £10.16.0, i.e. 4s.6d. per bale. But recorded among his debts was one to a Mr.Clayton for 63 bales of flax at 4s. the bale £12.12.0. 15 of the bales had already been carried and sold, and the remaining 48 valued at 6d.per bale over cost, which would not be realised until they were carried and sold. 2 horses which he had bought had been partially paid for by the carriage of items for the creditor from whom the horses were bought. One of these horses, a gelding, cost £2.4.4. The list of creditors reveals that Roger Ransden was owed 17s.4d. on account of it "...the reste beyng discharged in carriage of a packe and half a packe after 18s. ye packe." There was also a disputed item which displays the same purchasing feature. "...Weras ye executors of one George Allen and I are at variance abowte certayne ware to ye value of 35s. I carryed for ye same George 4 packes of wares after 9s. ye packe." Two of the other carriers were Edward and Richard Pugh, father and son. They must certainly have been Welshmen. The father was named as Pewe als Huson in 1592 and the son as ap Houghe als pewe in 1609. Ap Houghe is Welsh for son of Hugh, today normally written as Pugh, but it seems that 400 years ago they could have been called by any of these three forms of their name. The elder owned 14 horses or mares and their equipment, and the younger 10. Both were quite well-to-do. Another who also died in 1609, John Clare, does not appear to have been a carrier in the same sense of the word as all the others. He was a very wealthy man, with a large cattle and household inventory, but nothing referring to carrying. Indeed, he owned no horses at all. He had 9 valuable leases of houses and lands in and around the town, and a further £70 of loans secured on townsfolk. It seems more likely that he was a factor who arranged carriage rather than a working carrier.

Two of the 5 described as chapmen in their wills were almost certainly carriers also. William Nicolles 1617 owned 5 horses with packsaddles and equipment, and Richard Moore 1625/6 had 4 horses and 2 carts, saddle, packsaddle, and all the wares, chests, shelves and boxes in his shop. The other 3 were true pedlars, or pettychapmen. All 3 have detailed trade inventories, although 2 of them died intestate and nothing more is known of them. The third was very unusual, being a woman, one of only 3 tradeswomen for the whole period (the others being the 2 tanners of the Chamberlain family). She was Agnes Bowes, who died in 1605. Her will portrays a very caring woman, almost certainly a spinster. She made 6d. bequests to quite a large number of named persons, almost certainly all poor people, including 'old Marie Low' and 'Widdowe Lowe of the churchyard', and 1s. each to 10 of the poorest Uttoxeter widows. She also made bequests to her 3 godchildren, one from Parwich, one from Horton near Biddulph, and one from Chesterfield. Her inventory is given complete at the end of this Study. One can imagine her riding sidesaddle, with another horse laden with hamper and pack,

filled with the lengths of different material, millinery, haberdashery, and personal items which remote farm and hamlet housewives would need from time to time, together with her little scales to weigh out small amounts of soap or starch. Her godchildren were very likely the children of people she knew on her journeys around the southern part of the Peak District. Here surely is the character of the anonymous Tudor song *'Fine knacks for ladies, cheap, choice, brave and newwithin this pack pins, points, laces and gloves, and divers toys.....'*

Finally come the innkeepers, all Uttoxeter men. John Taylor, the glover and innkeeper of the Crown, has already been mentioned. His household inventory was very large and consistent with innkeeping. There were 32 pairs of sheets, for instance, and 2 sets of cobblers, 4 broches, 2 landirons, and double potchains, all indicating large scale cooking arrangements. There were also a tin basin and ewer, 3 tin salts, 3 tin cups, 4 quart and 4 pint pots of pewter and other drinking cups and trenchers. Thomas Bradshaw 1621 had among his creditors Thomas Degge for malt, and among his debtors Mr. Kinnersley for bread, so it seems probable that he brewed and baked as well. In his cellar were *"....2 hogsheads, 10 barrels, 1 vat, 6 lomes, 1 little runlett and 6 other tubs w^t all other wooden wares touching his bruinge..."* There is no indication of the name or situation of his inn, but he too had another trade, for in his shop were *"...certain tooles belonging to his trade being a carpenter..."*. William Blurton died intestate in 1623, and it is apparent from his inventory that he kept an inn, though again its name and location are not known, except that it was *'on the street'*. His cellar contained 4 hogsheads, a flagon, cans, glasses and brewing vessels. Francis Mynors, gentleman, a member of Uttoxeter's premier family at that time, must have been a brewer and innkeeper as well. His inventory of 1585 contains 29 quart pots, 14 pint pots and a ½ pint pot, 4 tundishes and a gimlet, a limbeck, 5 hogsheads of vinegar, a part butt of sack, a tun of Gascony wine and *'certain Bastood and muscadyme'*. He died intestate and there is therefore no indication of how his effects were disposed, but it is rather curious that no succeeding Mynors' inventories have brewing or innkeeping items such as these. The most probable reason is that Francis had married some time after 1574 Elizabeth, the widow of John Mastergent, who had died in that year. John was simply described as a yeoman in his will, and although he did have 2 brewing vats among his effects, there is nothing else in his inventory which gives any real indication of innkeeping. Elizabeth, now Mynors, lived on until 1613. Her will has no inventory surviving, but her executor was her son Edward Mastergent, and one of her overseers her other son Thomas Mastergent. When Edward died in 1621, eight years later, he was a very wealthy man and an innkeeper, probably of both the Crown and the Swan. His winecellar contained 3 butts of sack worth £51 and 2½ hogsheads of Gascony wine, together with all the empty casks, bottles, pewter pots and glasses. In the beer cellar and buttery were 3 hogsheads of beer, with jugs, pots, cans, and trenchers. The brewhouse contained all the brewing leads and the milkhouse apart from dairy utensils also contained a limbeck. It is probably more than just coincidence that the only 2 inventories recording the possession of a limbeck are these two, and it really does seem likely that it was the same limbeck. Edward Mastergent's son John died only 7 years after his father, in 1628. His will describes him as *'gentleman'*. The family does appear to have done very well for itself, doubtless helped in no small measure by the very advantageous match some time between 1574 and 1585 between Elizabeth Mastergent and Francis Mynors. Edward Mastergent's widow Katherine lived on until 1647 and never remarried. She has been much written about already, her principal claim to lasting remembrance being the charitable bequest in the form of the Mastergent Almshouses in Carter Street. In the context of this study, there is nothing in her inventory to indicate that she was an innkeeper, but several things which indicate that she was the owner of premises which were inns. Her inventory lists household goods of hers at the Swan, and ownership of the lease of the wine licence at the Crown. It seems most likely that at this stage of her life she was quite content to let others be innkeepers, and simply became a landlord in the broader sense. Table 8 gives some detail of the Mynors and Mastergent families.

Apart from the trades and tradesmen considered so far there are a very small number for whom an occupation was stated in their probate records (apart from priests, who are considered in a separate study), and they are included here, as an appendix. They were a schoolmaster, 2 forest keepers and 6 servants.

The schoolmaster was Richard Yorke, who died in Uttoxeter in 1593, a man of meagre means. He died intestate, with goods valued at only £5.8.8. There were no books listed in his inventory. There is no surviving list of sixteenth century masters of the Free School at Uttoxeter, nor has any other information yet come to light which would connect him definitely with it; but it does seem likely that he would have been the master there.

The first of the 2 keepers, William Jackson of Newborough, is described as a yeoman in his will of 1616, but identified as a keeper by items in his inventory, which included 3 bows, crossbow, gafflebow, and longbow, 2 hangers, and a keeper's horn. The other keeper was Thomas Waite, also of Newborough, who died in 1640. He is described as a keeper on both will and inventory, although it is in the will of Elizabeth Jackson 1621, the widow of William named above, that he appears as trustee of monies held for one of her children described as Keeper of Marchington Ward of Needwood Forest. Thomas Waite's house is actually identified in his will as Iland Lodge. Eland Lodge today is situated a few hundred yards SW of Six Lane Ends in

Newborough parish. The rooms of the house then are named as Hall, parlour, kitchen, 2 chambers over the kitchen and parlour and 'outward rooms', indicating a house of at least 7 rooms. In the hall, as well as furniture were 6 crossbows and 1 longbow with 3 racks, 3 gaffles, 3 arrowcases, 2 doz. crossbow arrows, 1 doz. longbow arrows, and a hanger, valued in all at 34s. All his books were also there, worth 6s.8d. He was a man of some substance, and occupied a prestigious position, something akin to an estate manager for a very large estate.

The 6 servants for whom documents survive were all unmarried women, 3 from Uttoxeter and 1 each from Gratwich, Combridge, and Doveridge. There is no inventory with this last one, but the wording of her will throws great light on what was almost certainly the nature of the service relationship in this early period. She was Ursula Curtesse, who died in 1606. She asked to be buried "*...in the church of Dovebridge at the entering of the seate wher my maisters servants knele...*" She left a young hogsheep to each of her godchildren (without saying how many there were) and finally gave "*...unto my maister the rest of my goodes my master in whose service and by whose means I have gotten them to dyspose of accordynge to my wyll at his discrecon...*". Every one of these 6 wills conveys the impression that the servant loved, honoured and respected her master or mistress and their children, and it is difficult to imagine that this relationship was not a reciprocal one. Joan Stocke in 1556 asked that "*...my mayster and dame whom I am in service withall at thys present shalbe payde and contented for ye coste and charge yt I have put them to by al the tyme of my Syckness...*". None of them were women of great means. One had £15.4.0 worth of assets of which £11 was money out at interest, but the rest were all under £6. Yet they all left something of their assets, often their clothing, to their mistresses or mistresses' children. Joan Mylner in 1563 left her best pinner to her dame Elizabeth Smyth, and to Alice the dame's daughter her frockcloth, a pair of sleeves and a mark of money, and to Anne another daughter her silk hat, kerchief, and best partlet. It is evident too, from the type of clothing described, that the servants were accustomed to, and comfortable in, the social milieu in which they worked, and it seems more than likely that they themselves were born in similar social environments. Indeed, although there is no direct evidence for these 6, it was very frequently the case during this period that servants and apprentices were related to their masters, often nephews or nieces, or cousins and cousins' children. There is no feeling of grovelling servitude, or inferiority complex, in these relationships. When John Farrall, a Hanbury husbandman who was either an elderly bachelor or a widower, died in 1639 he left the residue of his estate (about £30 after bequests) to his 2 servants Thomas Farrall and Ellen Higgs, who were his nephew and niece. This is just one of numerous examples of similar master/servant relationships.

In summing up on this study, it is possible to make some observations on the extent to which credit and moneylending and borrowing played a part in their working arrangements. These comments apply of course to all classes of persons, not just to tradesmen.

There are over 150 wills or inventories which record debtors only, over 100 with creditors only, and 52 with both. It must be added that almost every will instructs the executors to pay outstanding debts. Sometimes there may have been none, but equally there may have been some which are unrecorded. Those of the greatest interest in this context have detail of some sort concerning financial transactions.

A fair number of them are for goods, or livestock, bought or sold but not actually paid for at the time of death, and for which there was no written agreement enforceable at law. Arthur Netam of Kingstone 1571 had 21 named debtors of this sort, of whom Arthur Amytt owed him £1 for a mare, Thomas Lees £3.6.8. for two bullocks and John Andrews a Bromley butcher £6.13.4 for fatware. Henry Smythe 1579 a Uttoxeter shoemaker noted that he was owed "*...by Thomas Warner gent for such wares as he hath had out of my shop 37s.8d...*" Other similar trade items of credit or debit have already been mentioned. Money outstanding for the hire of cows occurs quite frequently. Thomas Swenson the Dovebridge miller was owed 6s.8d. for 2 years keeping of a cow. Robert Low of Hanbury 1578 had 9 cows out at hire, 3 to one man but the rest singly at 4s. per cow, presumably per annum. Nor were they all right on his doorstep. One was from Scropton, one from Etwall, and one, a widow, from Ouseley (Wolseley Bridge). Monies owing in such transactions was almost certainly unsecured.

However the largest number of recorded debts were of specialty, that is, bonds in writing enforceable at law. Some of these bonds were undoubtedly for livestock transactions also. Anne Carter of Beamhurst 1635 had such a bond on Mr. Bayley of Gratwich, Sir Walter Chetwynd's clerk, for £18, of which the appraisers noted "*...wch bond we could not see therefore we cannot praise it but we believe it was for goods...*". They are much more frequently bonds for loans of money, or securities against purchases of leases or copyholds. Walter Vernon's £400 worth of debts of specialty owed him are unitemised, but were almost certainly all leasing agreements with tenant farmers who were occupying his lands on either side of the Dove. John Alcock of Fauld 1621, yeoman, had over £500 worth of specialty bonds in 25 named agreements. One of £310 on Richard Watson, a Rolleston Husbandman, was certainly on land and 2 others, one of £72 on Lawrence Bayard and another of £45 on William Parker probably were, but the remaining 22 were all under £10 each with no detail

other than the name of the person bound. It is evident that he had a sufficiently broad financial base to be able to act as a local moneylender in quite a big way. The same can be said of another John Alcock of Newborough (apparently unrelated, at least not closely), who had £309 lent out in 32 separate bonds. Here, the amount in each case is listed together with the redemption date and the penalty value in case of default or the value of the security lodged against the loan. Three of these loans were for £20 or thereabouts, but the largest number are for amounts between £5 and £10. Neither of these men's inventories give any idea of what interest was charged.

Redemption dates for debts of all kinds, secured or not, are very frequently given, and are nearly always given as Saints' Days. The two commonest are the Annunciation of the BVM (March 25th.) and St. Michael the Archangel (Sept. 29th.), followed by St. John Baptist (June 24th.) and Nativitas Domini (Dec. 25th.). These are the four Quarter Days, which are still used quite a lot for the payment of quarterly rents and dues. Two others which occur very frequently in this earlier period are St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24) and St. James (July 25th.)

Actual interest is occasionally mentioned. Thomas Strickland of Hanbury Woodend 1621 had a list of 15 debts due 'without specialty or writing' which included "...John Lee of Collengwood £10 to be paid at St. Michael next with £5 interest on it due at Christmas next..." James Smyth of Newborough recorded a loan of £3, plus 12s. "...for the use thereof 3 years past...", a rate of just under 7½% and Widow Cresswell of Marchington one of £1 with "...4s. for the use 2 years past" a rate of 10%. Robert Low, the hirer out of cows mentioned above, also noted the loan of 5 nobles for 10 groats, which is 10%. Anything between 5% and 10% is met with, and was presumably negotiated individually at the time of the loan. Strickland also noted in his will that "Thomas Allsop did owe and his executors still owe £2.3.4 due about 16 years past." Such a debt must have been virtually a desperate one. Indeed desperate debt is very often recorded, sometimes of quite large sums. Robert Gilbert the Uttoxeter ironmonger had £40 each of good and desperate debt, and Robert Bothbie the mercer had £213.7.2 in debts good and bad without any recorded detail. Widows very often lent out money at interest, and sometimes they too record desperate debt. Widow Robotham of Hanbury 1650 had 3 specialty bonds of £5, one with "intrust thereunto belonging over and above the £5," and 3 desperate ones of 10s. each. When more detail is there it is entertaining, if in a sad sort of way. Humfrey Milnehouse of Newborough 1628 noted in his will "...Robt. Cartrick oweth to me £10.6.8. for a cow and a calfe wch he bought of my mother. If the money can be got I do give and bequeath it to my aunt Baker..." In 1618 Francis Beardmore of Uttoxeter had only 15s. 4d. worth of goods plus £5.19.6. owed to him by 6 debtors. However the grant of probate was endorsed: "the executors doe refuse the will because they bee suche poore men that doe owe the debtes that it will not be gotten."

Sometimes the liabilities were contested. In 1604 the inventory of Richard Barton of Kingstone records:

"Debts supposed to be due to Richard Barton but some of them doubtful to be recognised for want of good security or witness, and some part of them are denied. Hugh Bullock of Callowhill for 2 kine £5 and as John Fox sayth 5 nobles beside. John Fox is supposed to owe him £3 he sayth it is not so much. George Berisford is supposed to owe him 6s. 8d. he sayth also it is not so much but 3s. 4d. John Bird is supposed to owe him 9s. He denyeth it utterly and sayth he oweth him none." Occasionally one sees the other end, as it were, of a bond secured on land. Simon Whitehall, a substantial Kingstone yeoman, had in his inventory in 1630 "...1 lease of the moiety of a messuage and land in Callowhill for 3 years to come from Lady Day next wch standeth charged with £20 per annum and respecting the charges is no better value than £0.0.0."

For many of the testators with creditors only there is also much detail, and it is principally for livestock transactions. Among the debts of Simon Cresswell of Marchington 1621, a blacksmith, were 'owing to Mr. John Berisford for 10 sheep £3.10.' and 'owing to John Wrigley for a mare £3.' Francis Poole Esq. of Newborough 1612 had a list of 17 creditors, some with redemption dates, and some which to modern eyes look strange. There was the large sum of £26.13.4 borrowed from his servant Rose Walker, and a further £30 which she had borrowed for him in various places. His debts totalled over £150, while his inventory value was only £82.3.2. He is one of 14 testators whose debts were greater than the value of their goods, and who at first sight appear to have been bankrupt, but in all these cases the men were occupiers of land by copyhold or in fee simple, and in most instances these debts would have been paid off, or interest paid on them, by the executors out of income from the lands which they were now occupying by inheritance. There are quite frequently legacies to children much larger than the value of the inventory, often to be paid by the eldest son, who inherited the tenancy, to each of his siblings in turn at 2 or 3 yearly intervals, or to each of them upon reaching the age of 21. In 1625 Margaret Trewe of Uttoxeter, the sister or sister-in-law of Walter Bagot gent had as her principal possession a bond of £148 on the same Walter. She left clear instructions in her will that the income from this was for her daughter Lettice "...for her lifetime in consideration of the care and paynes she doth daily take about me, and for her portion..." to be paid annually, and after Lettice's death to her 2 daughters (Margaret

Trewe's grandchildren) for their maintenance and to provide portions *'when they shall be matched'*.

That such bonds and the declarations of intent about them undoubtedly had the force of law after the decease of either party to the bond can be seen from the codicil to the will of William Poker of Utttoxeter 1636, which notes that, if he cannot escape liability for a £100 bond from Edward Littleton gent to Mrs. Sands, widow, then all his legatees who were bequeathed £5 each should only receive 12d. each.

In finally summing up the material of this study, it is obvious that a view of tradesmen and their operations based entirely on the evidence of wills and inventories can in no sense give a complete picture of the situation in this period. Yet it may well be that it gives the most detailed and individual collection of information which is ever likely to be available. And there are of course general observations to be made arising from it.

First, the number of well-to-do tradesmen who were engaging in trade enterprises to the complete exclusion of agricultural involvement was really very small. Secondly, that there was a great deal of borrowing and lending going on, together with a reliance on credit facilities from yeomen acting as credit brokers. Thirdly there was always a strong desire to 'keep it in the family' and thus maintain the strength of the undertaking. Lastly, the greatest part of the trading activity was very much part of a very ancient lifestyle based always upon livestock and agriculture and the seasonal rotation upon which they depended. A very large part of the trade depended on the satisfactory completion of those cycles. These elements always took precedence. Although there was a growing market in cheese and butter for consumption outside the immediate locality, and some of the finished products of the processors of agricultural products went further afield, most of the local production, particularly of food, was for local use. Yields generally at this date were not high, and severe weather and bad harvests inevitably meant hardship for many. This district was not special in that respect. Shortage of food, and the illnesses connected with it, were always lurking around the corner, and direct contact with the production of the next meal must always have been a powerful influence on the attitudes and priorities of local folk. It gives a much better insight into the reason why these local men who were tanners, glovers, shoemakers, carpenters, or innkeepers were, from the evidence of their wills and inventories, so many other things as well, particularly husbandmen. It was not butterfly mindedness. They dared not be any other way. It may have been that they made more money at, or enjoyed more, their other specialized activities, but it was the land which produced the grain for the bread and the beer, the cow the milk and cheese, the pig the bacon, and the sheep the wool for garments to keep them warm. The gifts in wills of husbandry gear, of a heifer calf or ewe and lamb to go forward, of the cloth to make a garment, or even of a used garment itself, all take on their true significance if this concept is kept in mind.

APPENDIX 1. The Inventory of the goods of George Wilson, Ironmonger, Uttoxeter, 1612.

His inventory is in 2 parts, his household goods, livestock, and leases are in the first part, and all his shop goods in the second part. The only items from Part 1 listed here are the leases and the total. Part 2 is given complete.

Itm the Revercon of a lease of the Chantry of one little burgage in Uttoxeter foresaid priced to	1.10. 0.
Itm the Revercon of a lease for one half aker of medoe ground taken of one Robert Russell priced to	2.13. 4.
Itm the Revercon of a Lease of a croft & one half aker of medoe ground taken of one Thomas Holmes	1. 0. 0.
Itm the Revercon of a lease for a shoppe taken of one William Dudley prayesd to	1. 0. 0.

Summe is £76.10. 2.

WARES IN THE SHOPPE

In Primis 2 Tunne 7 cwt 39 lb of yron priced to	33. 0. 0.
Itm ironne Cloutes hooches & bandes 4 cwt 25 lb priced to	4. 6. 8.
Itm fryinge pannes 21 lb	7. 6.
Itm stroake and neales 4 cwt	3.12. 0.
Itm fire shooles and neals ½ cwt and 10 lb	10. 6.
Itm shares & lanndes ½ cwt & 23 lb	12. 0.
Itm harrow tynes ¾ cwt & 19 lb	16. 0.
Itm brandyrans landyrans & horse shoos 2 cwt 1 qr & 1 lb	1.18. 0.
Itm 17 coult lockes <i>(Horse shackle)</i>	7. 0.
Itm 4 dogge cheanes	8.
Itm 13 hanginge lockes	2. 0.
Itm 10 steele stickes	1. 8.
Itm 9 harte lockes	1.10.
Itm 3 dozen of horse belles	4. 0.
Itm 5 territtes <i>(Harness rings)</i>	4.
Itm 2 lb of Curteine Ringes	1. 8.
Itm 15 dozen of Coffe bandes	10. 0.
Itm 1 dozen of Wheele wharves <i>(Spindle Whorls)</i>	2.
Itm 2 sheepe belles	2.
Itm 20 Coffe lockes	5. 0.
Itm 5 deske lockes	1. 3.
Itm 2 pr of bellows	1. 4.
Itm 14 Cubboard lockes	1. 8.
Itm 1 padd locke	4.
Itm 1 heare Cive	4.
Itm 1 dosen of neale pincers	3.
Itm halfe a dosen of Candlestickes	1. 0.
Itm 8 Chaffinge dishes	3. 4.
Itm 6 porterne hinges	3. 4.
Itm 6 lambe heades & 6 doveteales	2. 0.
Itm 2 latches & Catches	8.
Itm 2 Gridyrans	1. 4.
Itm halfe a grosse of wimble bitts <i>(Auger bits)</i>	1. 3.
Itm five dosen & a halfe of whipcoarde	8.
Itm 3 pr of Composers	4.
Itm 8 threesquare files	1. 4.
4 whipsaw files	8.
Itm five halfsquare files	10.
Itm 4 dosen of girth webb	3. 0.
Itm 2 glasse bottles	1. 4.

Itm 18 lb & a halfe of baret steele	(Steel in small bars)	4. 6.
Itm 13 spade shoos & shoole shoos		3. 0.
Itm 1 lb of longe heare		6.
Itm 8 whippe sawes* & 3 blocke sawes	(*frame saw with narrow blade for curved work)	1. 16. 8.
Itm 5 framing sawes		8. 4.
Itm 22 handsawes		4. 3.
Itm 1 thousand 3 qrs of 4d. neales		4. 4.
Itm 2 thousand 3 qrs of 3d. neales		4. 6.
Itm 1 thousand & a halfe of 6d. neales		6. 0.
Itm 4 hundred & a halfe of 10d. neales		3. 0.
Itm 10 thousand & a halfe of small hobneales		8. 8.
Itm 2 thousand & 200 of 8d. neales		11. 8.
Itm 2 thousand of horse neales		8. 0.
Itm 20 thousand of sparrow billes	(Brads with small projection on one side much used by shoemakers)	6. 8.
Itm ¼ of a thousand of stubbes		1. 10.
Itm 4 thousand and ¾ of Oxe neales		17. 4.
Itm 11 thousand of lathe neales		13. 6.
Itm 2 thousand and a half of shoemakers tackes		3. 4.
Itm 1 thousand ¾ of stake neales		1. 5.
Itm 5 burden of 20 kastes of steele	(Measure of quantity amount not known)	1. 11. 8.
Itm 100 of leade neales		3.
Itm 1 thousand and ¼ of sadlers tackes		10.
Itm 400 tenterhookes	(Hooked or right angled nail or spike used on a tenter)	1. 0.
Itm 13 lb of yron wier		8. 0.
Itm 1 lb & 3 ounces of yello wier		1. 2.
Itm 2 dosen & a halfe of Tin foyle		4.
Itm 8 stocke lockes		5. 4.
Itm 6 other stocke lockes		1. 0.
Itm 1 broylinge plate priced to		8.
Itm 16 shooing hornes		6.
Itm 2 ferkins & 1 remnant of hony		2. 18. 0.
Itm 1 remnant of soape		3. 0.
Itm 20 yarges of sack Cloth		8. 6.
Itm 1 cwt of Roapes		1. 1. 0.
Itm 3 stone and 3 lb of Rossin		4. 8.
Itm 2 stone and 12 lb of Corke		6. 8.
Itm 20 stonne of Roape hempe priced to		1. 17. 6.
Itm 17 stonne & a halfe of greene hempe	(Raw hempe)	2. 6. 8.
Itm 4 stonne of white hempe		13. 4.
Itm 13 stonne of yarne		1. 13. 8.
Itm 1 stonne of heare		4. 0.
Itm half a 100 of sithe stonnes		1. 8.
Itm a bushell of sithe sand		2. 4.
Itm 4 ould sithes		6. 0.
Itm 35 yarges of hearecloth		1. 17. 6.
Itm 1 barrell & a remnant of Pitche		1. 6. 0.
Itm half a barell of tarre		12. 0.
Itm 2 dosen of skuttles & 2 skippes		4. 8.
Itm leade		1. 2.
Itm spigotts & faucetts		2.
Itm 1 qr and 3 lb of ould yron		2. 6.
Itm waxe and bowe stringes		2. 0.
Itm weights beames measures scales hooches & other necessary thinges belonginge to the shoppe and trade		2. 0. 0.
Itm for other wares in ye shoppe		1. 10. 0.
Wares in the shoppe is		£78. 0. 10.
The Whole summe of ooll is		£154. 11. 0.

APPENDIX 2 The inventory of the goods of Agnes Bowes, Chapwoman, Uttoxeter. 1605

Imprimis 2 coffers	2. 0.
It. on hamper & a pack	2. 4.
It. 2 bolsters 2 pillowes & on flockbedd	4. 0.
It. 4 olde coveringes	2. 0.
It. on bowke on piggane 1 lombe on bowle on gere	1. 6.
It. 2 kettles	1. 6.
It. a fyre showle a payre of tongues & a payre of potte cheanes	1. 0.
It. 5 puter disshes on chandelsticke on dripinge pane & a saltt	5. 8.
It. on fryinge pane	6.
It. on payre of old bedesteeds 9 little bordes	2. 0.
It. 5 course sheetes	4. 0.
It. on little ould table a stowle	4.
It. halff a fyrkyn of soope	7. 6.
It on olde paynted cloth	6.
It. on ould sydsaddle on packsaddle on wantie 2 sursengles	4. 0.
It. on peice of clothe 8 yardes & halff	13. 4.
It. 4 peecees conteyning 40 yardes	2. 13. 4.
It. on peice of clothe of 8 yardes	12. 8.
It. on peyce of clothe 8 yardes & halff	13. 2.
It. on peice of cloth of 6 yardes $\frac{3}{4}$	5. 10.
It. on peice of cloth of 4 yardes & halff	8. 2.
It. 3 Remnants of cloth contayning 2 yardes & halff	5. 0.
It. 2 peices gartering	1. 8.
It. 4 dosen & 20 odde laces	1. 6.
It. 5 dosen banting lace	9.
It. 3 dosen lether laces	6.
It. some silke & silke poyntes	3. 8.
It. in lether poynts	1. 0.
It. in thread points	3. 0.
It. Silke lace	1. 6.
It. all the bowts thread	2. 0.
It. in bone lace	1. 2.
It. in whyte Inkels <i>(a type of wide tape or ribbon)</i>	2. 2.
It. in threid buttons	2. 6.
It. in Inkle	1. 0.
It. a parcell of little Inkels & some black lace and 3 gurdles & 7 combes	1. 8.
It. all the pyne	7. 10.
It. 2 little payre of scales & wayghts	2. 0.
It. in starche	9.
It. on dowsen of old puter spownes	6.
It. in musce	8.
It. her apperrell	13. 4.
Summa totalis	£10. 0. 5.

STUDY 3. THE HOUSES OF UTTOXETER AND ITS RURAL ENVIRONS. 1540-1650.

The period under consideration here lies at the divide between medieval and modern. Margaret Wood in her comprehensive book "The English Medieval House" comments that, while history textbooks generally make this break coincide with the start of the Tudor dynasty in 1485, a better date architecturally would be 1539-40, principally because monastic abbots had a great influence on domestic house design as well as on ecclesiastical building design, and this influence came to an end with the dissolution of the monasteries, and also because more influence from the Continent became apparent from then on.

The observations made in this study are based almost entirely on documentary evidence. There have been no published studies relating to any type of archaeological surveys of buildings or sites in the area being considered here. Mr. Meeson, the Sites and Monuments Officer to the County Council, has published some findings relating to Alrewas, not very far from this area; they consider evidence from archaeological diggings in the deserted settlement at Wychnor, from surveys of vernacular buildings still standing in Alrewas itself, and from seventeenth century inventories of those who lived there. His documentary examples are with 2 exceptions drawn from the period 1670-99, rather later than the period being considered here. Nevertheless many of his observations about the probable layout of houses and the uses and contents of their rooms do seem largely to agree with findings about this district in the latter part of the period.

Utttoxeter in 1540 was a small market town, the focal point of a rural economy based on stock rearing. Its trades were based on the use of materials produced by that economy or required to sustain it. This type of economic structure was very ancient, and almost certainly the conservative attitudes reflected in it were also reflected in the domestic architecture at the beginning of the period, which was still medieval in concept and execution. The materials used were almost entirely those which were locally available, and the purposes of the accommodation were with very few exceptions strictly utilitarian. Its principal uses were to eat in and to sleep in, and to be used for certain daytime domestic functions directly connected with the rural lifestyle, such as the making of cheese and butter, and the spinning of woollen, flaxen, or hempen yarn. Parts of the house were used to store farm products which needed protection from the weather; indeed in very severe weather this might have included farm animals as well. The idea of the house or its contents having any sort of aesthetic or artistic function was quite alien to almost the entire population of the area in 1540. The extent to which this attitude changed, developed and expanded is considered in this study.

TABLE 9. SUMMARY OF WILLS WITH HOUSE INFORMATION.

Date	No. of wills	As % of all wills	
1540 - 49	1	1%	It can be seen at once that before 1610 less than 1 in 10 of all wills & inventories has any specific information about the house or its size. The inventories are complete enough, and very detailed but simply do not allocate possessions to different rooms of the house. There is a dramatic change for the last 40 years when about a quarter of all wills and inventories have such information. The next Table gives a summary of those houses whose room details are known.
1550 - 59	7	7%	
1560 - 69	4	7%	
1570 - 79	3	4%	
1580 - 89	5	8%	
1590 - 99	5	6%	
1600 - 09	9	11%	
1610 - 19	25	29%	
1620 - 29	27	25%	
1630 - 39	21	22%	
1640 - 50	19	25%	

TABLE 10. NUMBER OF ROOMS PER HOUSE

No. of rooms per house	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
No. of houses pre 1600	-	5	6	4	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
No. of houses 1601 - 50	-	2	18	14	9	12	12	7	7	2	3	-	2	3	1	1	1

In 126 of the wills or inventories of the men and women who lived in Utttoxeter and the surrounding rural parishes between 1540-1650 there is information of some kind about the houses in which they lived. A small number of these houses were named houses whose exact locations are no longer known; a similar small number were houses whose locations are known but which no longer exist; and a very small number are houses of known location which still exist, either entire or in part. There are undoubtedly more houses than those discussed here which do date back, at least in part, into this period, but it is not possible to identify them indisputably with specific testators or inventories. The largest number of houses being considered here cannot therefore be precisely located.

At this point all those dwellings ought briefly to be considered for which no precise information appears in either will or inventory, since almost 90% of these documents relate to such dwellings. It is almost certain that the great majority of such houses were of 4 rooms or less. The Hearth Tax Returns of 1666, although they were made 16 years after the end of the period under consideration here, offer the most compelling evidence, since houses would have been generally speaking smaller rather than larger during the preceding 120 years. The return for the Manor of Marchington (which included not only Marchington village and Woodlands, but also almost all of Hanbury parish, including Coton, Fauld, and Draycott) shows that, out of 216 houses assessed for the Tax, 136 had 1 hearth and 43 had 2 hearths. Very few of these 182 houses, 84% of all those assessed in the Manor, would have had more than 4 rooms, indeed the great majority would have been 2 roomed or 1 roomed dwellings, and the majority of their occupants would have been of insufficient means to have had to make a will.

Returning to the information in Table 10, it can at once be seen that, whereas almost two thirds of the houses in the earlier period had 2 or 3 rooms, in the later period these houses comprised less than one quarter of the whole. The number of 4 roomed dwellings remained more or less constant, and there were substantially more of all sorts of the larger dwellings in the later period.

Two roomed houses invariably consisted of the hall, house or houseplace, and the parlour or chamber, all at ground level. 3 roomed houses sometimes appear to have the additional parlour or chamber at ground level, but it is more frequently above, described as *'the chamber over the parlour'* or *'the chamber over the Hall/House/houseplace.'* All these dwellings were undoubtedly adaptations of one-roomed hallhouses, first divided in two by a partition wall, and eventually ceiled at one end at half the house height to provide additional floor area inside the existing structure. The access to this upper floor area was often by ladder. A number of wills make bequests of furniture *'at the ladderfoot'*. Also the fact that the majority of these early halls or houseplaces were open to the roof is demonstrated by the large number of inventories containing *'bacon flitches at the roof'*. It was undoubtedly smoky up there, since most of these early houses had no chimneys, and provided ideal conditions for curing bacon, and sometimes beef also.

Unsurprisingly, it is made quite clear from those inventories which specifically allocate furniture and effects to rooms that, except in the largest houses, every room was used by someone, or several persons, to sleep in. Personal privacy of the sort valued today was almost non-existent, particularly in 2 and 3 roomed houses, even allowing for the fact that the rooms themselves were probably larger than many rooms are today. The record of fairly large numbers of curtained beds, even in these smaller houses, may have reflected some concern for privacy, but the overriding advantage of such beds was that they eliminated draughts, keeping their occupants much warmer at night. There are also not a few inventories which give a fairly clear indication that not only the rooms but the beds themselves were in multiple occupation and there is one will, that of Grace Jackson, a widow of Marchington Woodlands, which actually states:

".....Unto Anne Jacksonne I give £6 being my grandchild and bedfellow."

The rooms of these houses may have been quite large, but they were also homes to families which were quite large, and whose members were not necessarily all young children. A family which can be considered in some detail is that of Thomas Fleeming, a cooper and farmer who died in 1612. He left a widow, 3 sons and 3 daughters, and a stepson, a child of his wife's by a former marriage. His effects were valued at £72 making him a moderately well-to-do rural tradesman. His eldest son was already over 21, his second son probably in his late teens, the 3 daughters progressively younger and the youngest son probably aged 10-12 years. His widow Dorothy did not remarry and died 24 years later in 1636, leaving a will and inventory of her own. Her son by her first marriage and her eldest Fleeming son were married and had children by then, since she made bequests to them, and the second son was married but childless. Her 3 daughters and the youngest son were still single, and presumably still living in the family house. These 4 children would almost certainly have been between 30 and 40 years old. The rooms of the house were the houseplace, the parlour and the buttery. In her inventory were 3 bedsteads, with one featherbed and 3 woolbeds, indicating that one of the beds was used on the floor or on some simple frame, and also that at least one of the beds must have been shared. The household was quite well-provided with pots and pans of brass and pewter, but the only other furniture was 4 coffers, a little box, 2 forms and a shelf in the parlour, and chairs, stools and 6 cushions in the houseplace. It is impossible to be sure how the members of such a household got on with each other living in these conditions, but the fact that they were all still there, probably in reasonable health, implies that they managed quite well. Dorothy had prospered during her widowhood, possessing at her death 11 cattle, 2 mares, a pig, chickens and 2 hives of bees, with corn and hemp, growing and in the house, and a farm cart with all the necessary husbandry ware. The presence of yarn, hemp and cheese in the house gives a clue to at least some of the internal domestic activities of the womenfolk. It is interesting too that she owed small sums of money, 10s., 6s., 26s.8d., and 8s. respectively to each of her 3 daughters and her unmarried son. These would have been either wages or sums of

money received from the sale of yarn or cheese.

There are plenty of instances in all the parishes of houses being in multiple occupation. Thomas Budworth of Marchington Woodlands in 1561 left to his wife Alys

"the lytyll howse above the Dweling howse kepyng her husbands name duryng her lyff wt the ingrasse and egrasse and goeing to and from the sayd howse at all tymes...."

One item in the inventory of Robert Gratwich of Utttoxeter in 1592/3 was

"One lease taken of Mr. Robert Welles of a peece of a house 40s."

John Gilberd of Marchington noted in 1644/5 that

"if my nephew John G. my brother Richard G's sonn shall espouse and marry Barbara Vaughton my wives niece within the compass of one year after my decease then my will and desire is that J.G. and B.V. shal continue and live together with my wife in the house..."

Edward Holbrooke, a Utttoxeter tanner, willed in 1613 that

"after the decease of Katherine my wife Anne my daughter shall have the upper end of the house and my daughter Margaret the nether end of the house the rest of the building and backside to be equally divided betwixt them..."

Thomas Hodgkinson of Hanbury 1628 left the use of the room over the parlour to his son Richard and daughter (in law?) Marie for the rest of his wife's life

"for them to lie in if it please them and sett their goods in for the term of 2 yeares of the decease of my wife..."

Alice Walker of Stubbylane in Hanbury made her will in 1606, although she lived until 1613. She had 6 daughters, all married and living, but not in her house. She also had 3 sons, one of whom may already have been married, who were all living in the house. She left to her son William *'the bed he lies in and the bed next to it'*, together with the necessary bedding and the best table and frame in the hall. Her son Christopher was also bequeathed his own bed and bedding and, among other things, *'all the painted cloathes betweene the wyndow and the buttrie door...'* She evidently expected these 2 to continue farming together since she bequeathed her 4 ploughoxen and 2 mares to them jointly, merely stipulating that William should have the best mare. But she did also say that

"Christopher my sonne shall have the use of the nether chamber to come and go and set his goods in and houseroome at the top betweene Robert and William so longe as Christopher is sole and unmarried..."

So it appears that the house had a hall, a nether chamber, a buttry, and 'houseroom' above, which may have been partitioned into 3 sections. There were *'4 old bedsteads'* in the inventory, so they evidently had a bed each. But it would have been a pretty crowded house when all 6 of the daughters were still single. It cannot be ascertained how old Alice Walker was, but the likelihood is that she was an old lady. Her son William died only 3 years later, still unmarried, and his will confirms much of the family detail already outlined, but indicates additionally that his brother Robert had children, and was therefore married. Whether he was while his mother was alive, and living in the family home is not clear, but the fact that William left to Robert's daughters and the daughters of one of his sisters all the geese, ducks, and hens implies that they were not very young children, and that William himself was probably not a young man.

That there must have been friction at times in such multiple households is sure. There are a number of wills in which one can 'read between the lines' as it were, but there is one which requires no interpretation. John Budworth of Stubbylane wrote in July 1592

"...unto Richard Budworth my sonne 20s. yf so bee yt hee will avoid and depart out of this house betweene this and St. John Baptist or ells hee and his wiffe behave themselves orderlie and honestlie hereafter towards mee and my wiffe ..."

There is no indication in will or inventory of the number of rooms in this house, but his eldest son and heir was Toby Budworth, who died in 1622/3 and whose inventory provides more information. Assuming it was the same house, it had a hall, an inner chamber and an upper chamber. Toby was a substantial yeoman, with monies lent on specialty all round the district, 25 different bonds in all worth over £140.

Among the other small houses, one of particular interest was that of Agnes Clarke of Dovebridge, who died in 1564. According to her inventory, the house comprised a hall, a chamber, and a passage. The hall contained a table, a chair, a form and all the kitchen and domestic utensils. The chamber contained only a bed with its bedding and a window curtain. In the passage were 4 cows, 1 ox, 1 heifer, 3 twinter beasts, a bullock, 2 yearling calves, and 3 pigs. This house was clearly a long house of a type not thought to have been common in this part of England, with the hall at one end, the parlour or chamber at the other, and a crosspassage between, which housed livestock at night or in severe winter weather. This inventory was dated 23rd. March 1564, and it seems very likely that the weather then was still sufficiently wintry for the animals to be indoors. Agnes Clarke said in her will that she was of *'Eyton'*, as did her husband John in 1558 and her mother-in-law Margaret in

1542. There are 3 farms standing today where this house might once have stood, those of Eaton Dovedale, Upper Eaton, and Eaton Hall.

Moving on to slightly larger houses, there are a number whose inventories are so made as to give very clear pictures of the disposition of effects inside the individual rooms. Robert Sherwin the elder, a Uttoxeter miller who died in 1604/5, had a house of 4 rooms, the house, lower and upper parlours, and kitchen. In the house were a table with a form and bench, 2 cupboards (probably sideboards or dressers at this date), a side table and 3 chairs, 4 stools and a settle, 6 cushions, and painted hangings for the walls; there were an andiron, pothangers and a bellows for the fire. The small effects in this room comprised 4 chargers, 3 platters, 4 dishes, a brass candlestick, a quart pot and 2 pint pots, 7 porringers, 3 sauceboats, a beaker, a flowerpot, 6 spoons, and a shelf with some old candlesticks and *'other small necessities'*. In the upper parlour were 2 bedsteads with adequate bedding, other house linens, and painted wall-hangings. In the lower parlour were 2 chests, a little table with a form, 5 shelves, 6 pewter dishes, 3 sauceboats, a brass pot with pothooks, a frying pan, a pair of cobberts and a spit, a cupboard, 3 barrels, 2 little kinnels, a churn, 8 cheese vats, a mashing vat, pots, measures, a lantern, and 10s.worth of hay (quite a large amount). Finally, in the kitchen were wood and coals, a brass pan, 2 kettles, a cow, a hog, a skillet, 5 bowks and gallons, a brewing loome, and a trivet. This was clearly a house with 3 rooms at ground level with one above. The lower parlour was evidently what today we would call the kitchen, and the room called the kitchen may well have been a shore at the back of the house, since there are no implements mentioned connected with a fireplace in it, as there are in both the house and the lower parlour. This would also account for the 2 animals being there. It could be argued that the 2 animals just happen to appear at that point in the inventory, but the fact remains that they were listed in the section marked *'kitchen'* with typical household implements before and after, and that this is not the only inventory in which livestock appears with kitchen effects. This house sounds to have been quite well-provided in a very simple way, but it is noticeable that almost everything in it was of a utilitarian nature, the only exceptions being the flowerpot and the painted hangings. Such hangings do start to appear more frequently from about this date, sometimes called *'painted stories'* in the inventories of the district. The subjects were usually religious, often serial pictorial illustrations of Biblical stories. Such *'stories'* painted on to walls or panelling have very occasionally survived in parts of England, and are very valuable reminders of how the interiors of these houses looked. To return to the consideration of Robert Sherwin's house, it does seem at first sight remarkable that at this early date there were beds in the upstairs room only, but the will itself throws some light on this. Robert Sherwin was a widower, since he asked to be buried in Uttoxeter churchyard *'in the porch where my wyef lieth.'* He had 2 sons, both millers, who were evidently both already provided for, since he left each of them the customary shilling *'in full payment of his child's part'*. They were certainly not living there. He left the lease of the house, the house itself, contents, and all appertaining to it to his servant Joan Alexander for her natural life, and she was also his executor. The only proviso was that, if she should marry, the lease, house and contents should go at once to his son Edward, who would inherit in any case at her death. This was therefore a household of 2 people, an elderly miller and his servant, hence the upper parlour with its 2 beds.

Another 5 roomed property in Uttoxeter of particular interest was that of John Talor, glover and innholder, who died there in 1567. In his will he described the premises, which he left to his daughter Margaret and her husband Richard Ward, as being *'...commonly called the Crown...'*. It was an inn of modest dimensions, the rooms being the dining parlour, the new parlour, the great chamber, the nether chamber, and the kitchen. The dining parlour contained 1 bed with its bedding and tester hangings, a table with 2 forms, little cupboards and boards, 8 chairs and stools, 4 coarse carpets, a banker, cushions and hangings. The great chamber had 2 featherbeds with all the bedding, the nether chamber had 4 featherbeds with all the bedding, and the new parlour had 4 mattresses with 4 coarse coverlets and other bedding. The kitchen was very well provided with pots and pans and cooking necessities of brass and iron. Among the requirement for a hostelry were 2 basins and ewers, one of tin and one of maslin. There were 3 tin salts and 3 tin cups, 4 quart and 4 pint pots of pewter, as well as wooden drinking cups and trenchers. If this inn was the same *'Crown'* as appears in a Mastergent inventory 60 years later it was greatly enlarged during those 60 years. It may well have been. Edward Mastergent's mother Elizabeth, in her will of 1613 (she was Elizabeth Mynors by then) made a bequest to her sister Margaret Taylor, indicating a relationship between Mastergents and Taylors. But there were several Taylor families in and around Uttoxeter in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not all related to each other. It is also possible that in 1567 there may have been two inns called *'The Crown'* in the town. There certainly were in 1658, the date of Peter Lightfoot's famous map of the town.

When John Mastergent, grandson of Elizabeth mentioned above, died in 1628, he left his house, called the Crown, to his sister. No details about the house are recorded in his will or inventory, but his father Edward had died only 6 years before leaving an inventory which described the house and contents in great detail. It is not named as the Crown there, but Edward was described at the head of the inventory as an innkeeper, and it

seems certain that the house must have been the Crown. It was a substantial establishment of 17 rooms. The hall was furnished with a long and a short table, forms, chairs, stools, a watchbill, a coffer, a wall candlestick, a pair of playing tables, 6 cushions and 2 window curtains with an iron rod. In the hearth was a fireplate with an iron bar and pair of potchains. The parlour beneath the entry had a standing bed and bedding, a long table and a round table, 3 forms and a stool, 5 cushions, a carpet and a windowcurtain with an iron rod. The little parlour above the hall contained all the house plate, valued at £24, a standing bed and a truckle bed with their bedding, a press, a cupboard, a square frame table, 2 forms, 7 chests, 2 trunks, a warming pan, a livery basket, a halberd, and 2 window curtains. There were 3 upper lofts, the further, middle, and nearer, with 5 standing beds between them, each with tables and forms, and one with a carpet also. The maids' chamber had 2 beds furnished, a pair of playing tables, and *'other small things'*. The little chamber over the parlour contained the *'best standing bed'* valued with its bedding at £7.10.0, almost double the value of any other bed in the house. It also contained another bed, 2 tables, a form, 5 stools, 2 chairs, 7 cushions, 2 carpets, a close stool, and a window curtain. The middle chamber had a canopy bed furnished, a long table and a livery table, 9 stools and 1 chair, 2 carpets and 10 cushions. The lower chamber had a standing bed and a truckle bed, a long table and a livery table, 2 forms, 2 chairs, a close stool, 6 cushions, 2 carpets and 2 window curtains. The kitchen was equipped as would be expected, as was the brewhouse, with its brewing leads and wooden vessels. The brewhouse chamber had 2 beds with their bedding and a coffer. The milkhouse had a cheese-press, a safe, a limbeck, table, shelves, and *'other implements there'*. In the *'hostrye'* were a bed and other things. The cellars were evidently large. In the wine cellar were 3 butts of sack, 2½ casks of Gascony wine, and empty casks, bottles, pewter pots, glasses and suchlike. In the beer-cellar were 3 hogsheads of beer, a large quantity of pewterware and *'all the jugs, potts, cannes, trenchers, and other things.'* There was a splendid inventory of household linen, all valued according to quality, for instance 10 pair of fine sheets, 24 pair of flaxen sheets, and 7 pair of canvas sheets. It is very clear that this inn, which stood at the SW corner of the Market Square, was a splendid example of a good-sized provincial early seventeenth century inn. It seems likely from the description that it was a 3 or 4 storied building with various ancillary buildings. The only puzzling feature about the rooms is the *'parlour beneath the entry'*. It could hardly have been below ground level, since it had a window. It is possible but not likely that the entry was at the top of a flight of steps. It seems more likely either that the appraiser wrote *'beneath'* instead of *'above'* by mistake; or that *'beneath'* was in the sense of *'further down'* the street.

Another most interesting house was Smallwood Hall, one of 8 houses whose sites are known but which no longer exist, which are described in inventories in some detail. It is also the earliest. Its existence was noted on Plot's map of Staffordshire in 1686, but it was gone by the time Stebbing Shaw wrote his History of the county in 1799. It stood in the field called Smallwood Hall Meadow on the Marchington Woodlands Tithe Map of 1842, and is a moated site about 200 Yards SW of the Woodlands church. James Thyrcell was its tenant until his death in 1553. Its rooms were the hall, the new chamber, the parlour, the draught chamber, the round chamber, the nether parlour and the kitchen. There was also a barn. The draught chamber indicates that there was a drawbridge, and the round chamber was presumably in some sort of tower. For a house of a member of the local gentry it seems to have been quite sparsely furnished. The hall contained a folding table, a form, a cup board with a cup board cloth and 1 hanging *'at ye over ende of the hall'*. The new chamber had a tester bed, with 3 curtains and a cup board with a linen cloth. The parlour, draught chamber and round chamber had 2 beds, 1 bed, and 1 bed respectively, with no other furniture, and the nether parlour had a cup board, 2 stools, 12 cushions, and 12 silver spoons. In the kitchen were 3 pans and 3 pots, 27 pewter dishes, 2 pair of pothooks, a frying pan, a brandiron, 2 potchains, a brass mortar and pestle, a chafing dish, all manner of wooden vessels, 8 pigs and 2s.worth of poultry, probably a dozen birds. Here again is a kitchen inventory with livestock in it. This one is dated 18th. January 1553. His other livestock, which included 8 ploughoxen, 75 other cattle of various sorts, 15 horses and 14 sheep, was valued separately. So it does appear that the pigs and poultry may well have been in the kitchen, the determining factor probably being severe winter weather. This household almost certainly consisted just of James Thyrcell, his wife Jane, and their servants. He had 2 manservants, for he left them bequests by name, and at least 2 maidservants, since his will says *"...unto every sarvand mayde wyche ys in my howse at my departing a heyfar or els 10s. of money..."*. He was likely to have been an old man, for his only child Jane was married to Sir Rowland Rugeley, and this couple had a daughter approaching marriageable age, since James Thyrcell left her £20 *'to hyr maryage'*. This house was the largest for which a complete description (so far as the numbers of rooms is concerned) survives before 1592.

Within ½ mile of this site, at the top of the hill and close to Marchington Woodlands church, stands a house today called Woodroffes, formerly The Bank House. The late Maurice Barley, in his study of rural housing in Vol.4 of the Agrarian History of England and Wales, considered this house in some detail and dated it into the first 20 or 30 years of the seventeenth century. Pevsner in his book on Staffordshire buildings concurs with this. It is highly likely that this was once the house of Thomas Coke, yeoman, who died in 1648. The

2 ROOMED HOUSES

Date	Name	Place	House	Hall	Chamber	Parlour	Nether House
1550	John Hygges	Newborough	*		*		
1554	John Roberts. Shingler	Hoar Cross	*		*		
1557	John Wyld	Dovebridge	*			*	
1558/9	Roger Telyor	Uttoxeter		*	*		
1588	William Foorde	Newborough	*				*
1602	Edmund Allen. Capper	Uttoxeter	*			*	
1634/5	Samuel Banks. Husbandman	Hanbury Wd.	*			*	

4 ROOMED HOUSES

Date	Name	Place	House	Hall	Houseplace	Parlour	Buttery	Kitchen	Chamber	Upper Chamber	Upper Parlour	Lower Parlour	Milkhouse	Storechamber	Chamber over House	Chamber over Parlour	Study	Study Chamber	
1570	John Warde Priest	Gratwich		*					*			*							Entry
1597	John Lyon	Loxley (U)	*			*	*		*										
1597	Anne Lyon	Loxley (U)	*			*	*		*										
1600	Frances Whittington	Newborough		*		*		*								*			
1605	Robert Sherwin Miller	Uttoxeter	*					*			*	*							
1615	John More Husbandman ¹	Dovebridge	*			*			*				*						
1616	John Woolley	Stramshall	*			*			*	*									
1617	Geo. Bradbury Wheelwright	Uttoxeter	*			*	*		*										
1622	John Emerie Husbandman ¹	Kingstone	*			*	*		*										
1625/6	Richd. Moore Chapman	Uttoxeter	*						*					*					Shop
1624	Mary Sherwin Widow	Uttoxeter	*			*		*			*								
1634	Helen Needham Widow	Kingstone	*			*			*		*								
1638	Michael Henshaw Priest ¹	Hanbury		*					*								*	*	
1641	Katherine Falconer Widow	Dovebridge	*			*							*						Loft
1644	Thos. Aspinall Yeoman	Uttoxeter			*				*	*									Cellar
1648	Thos. Hampson ¹	Creighton (U)	*			*								*	*				
1648	Richd. Jackson Yeoman	Thorneylanes	*			*			*					*					
1649	Roger Fletcher Tailor	Dovebridge	*			*			*				*						

Note ¹ Each of these men also had a barn

3 ROOMED HOUSES

Notes

1. All these had a barn, in addition Wetton 1612 had a bed and bedding over the barn.
2. This house was called Blounts Hall.
3. The inventory had 10 bedsteads & 8 featherbeds indicating there may have been more rooms. But his widow in 1609 also had only 3 rooms.

Date	Name	Place	House	Hall	Hallhouse	Parlour	Buttery	Kitchen	Chamber	Upper Chamber	Lower Chamber	New Chamber	Inner Chamber	Other
1585	Thos. Hollis. Butcher	Crakemars(U)	*			*	*							
1564	Agnes Clarke. Widow	Dovebridge		*					*					Passage
1575	Thos. Whittington. Gent ³	Newborough		*		*		*						
1588	William Fenton	Hanbury		*										Other Rooms
1588/9	Agnes Netam. Widow	Kingstone	*						*					Ch. at stairhead
1593	Richard Bayley	Kingstone	*						*					Ch. Under ladder
1601	Elizabeth Taylor	Loxley(K)			*	*	*							
1609	Helenor Whittington. Widow ³	Newborough	*			*			*					
1612	Edward Wetton. Cooper ¹	Newborough	*			*								Nether Parlour
1614	Richard Kinson	Callowhill(K)	*			*			*					
1618	George Bold	Stubbylane(H)	*						*	*				
1618	George Pickforke ¹	Uttox. Woodlands	*			*			*					
1618	Francis Wilde	Dovebridge	*			*			*					
1620/1	George Bull. Yeoman	Draycott(H)	*			*	*							
1622/3	Toby Budworth. Yeoman	Stubbylane(H)		*					*				*	
1623	John Warner	Hanbury Woodend	*						*					
1625	Gilbert More. Glover	Uttoxeter	*			*								
1626	William Crispe	Uttoxeter							*		*			Ch. Next the Street
1628	Henry Browne. Yeoman ^{1,2}	Uttoxeter	*						*					
1628/9	William Middleton	Bramshall	*			*	*							
1636	William Boothby. Yeoman	Marchington	*			*			*					
1636	Dorothy Fleeming. Widow	March. Woodlands	*			*	*							
1638	John Durose. Corvisor	Uttoxeter	*			*			*					
1641	George Spooner. Miller	Uttoxeter	*			*								Ch. Over house

5 ROOMED HOUSES

Date	Name	Place	House	Hall	Houseplace	Parlour	Buttery	Kitchen	Chamber	Upper Chamber	Chamber over House	Chamber over Parlour	Milkhouse	Chamber at Stairhead	Shop	
1562	William More. Barber	Uttoxeter		*		*	*	*							*	
1606	John Rotheram. Yeoman	Uttoxeter	*			*					*	*		*		
1613	Alice Walker. Widow	Stubbylane(H)		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*				H.room at top
1616	William Jackson. Keeper	Newborough		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
1623	William Blurton	Uttoxeter				*	*	*	*	*	*	*				Cellar
1628	John Hayley. Husbandman	Bramshall	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
1632/3	John Strickland. Yeoman	Woodend(H)			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		Garret
1637	John Gratwich. Yeoman	Uttoxeter	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
1644	Henry Hoult. Capper	Uttoxeter	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
1645	Richard Smith. Yeoman	M. Woodlands			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		Cocklofts

6 ROOMED HOUSES

Notes.

- (1) The parlours were 'dining' and 'new'
- The chambers 'great' and 'nether'
- (2) These 2 chambers were 'little' and 'chapel'
- (3) These 2 chambers were 'over' and 'nether'
- (4) 'Further Chamber' and 'chamber at stairshead'
- (5) and (6) 'Parlour' and 'nether parlour'
- 2 chambers were over these 2

Date	Name	Place
1568	John Talor. Glover/Innholder	Uttoxeter
1612	Francis Poole. Esquire	Hanbury
1612	Thos. Hinckley. Carpenter	Thorneylanes
1615/6	Thos. Pattricke	Bramshall
1620	Robert Spencer. Butcher	Uttoxeter
1620	Richard Wakefield	Uttoxeter
1623	Willm. Spencer. Shoemaker	Uttoxeter
1625	Edward Abell. Yeoman	Uttoxeter
1625/6	John Higgess. Yeoman	Creighton
1631	John Patricke. Husbandman	Bramshall
1631	James Rotheram. Shoemaker	Uttoxeter
1624	John Case	Hanbury
1620	John Alcocke. Yeoman	Fauld

House	Hall	Parlour	Kitchen	Buttery	Chamber	Chamber over House	Chamber over Parlour	Chamber over Kitchen	Great Chamber	Maids Chamber	Mens Chamber	Shop	Garret	Other
		*	*	*	*							*		
		*	*	*	*				*	*	*			+ Barn
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						+ Barn
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*				*		
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						Inner room
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						Store Chamber
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						Little Chamber
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*						Barn & Store Ch.

7 ROOMED HOUSES

Notes.

- (7) /Parlour' and 'nether parlour'. The chambers were 'draught', 'round', and 'new'
- (8) One chamber was a 'drinking chamber' and there was another over the shop.
- (9) It was called a 'hallhouse'
- (10) Simply 'outward rooms'
- (11) Chamber and New Chamber
- (12) 'middle', 'high', and '2 lower'

Date	Name	Place
1553	James Thyrkell	March.Wood.
1609/10	Richard Hill. Priest	Hanbury
1619	William Startin. Shearman	Uttoxeter
1621	Thos. Bradshaw.Carp/Innho.	Uttoxeter
1621	Elizabeth Jackson. Widow	Newborough
1621	Robert Case	Hanbury
1621/2	Walter Massey. Keeper	Loxley(U)
1622	Thomas Smith. Gentleman	Uttoxeter
1638	Edward Finnimore Fellmonger	Uttoxeter
1640	Thomas Waite. Keeper	Hanbury
1644	Elizabeth Waite. Widow	(the same house)
1646/7	Christopher Roe. Yeoman	Stubbylane(H)
1649	Robert Gilbert. Ironmonger	Uttoxeter

House	Hall	Parlour	Kitchen	Buttery	Chamber	Chamber over House	Chamber over Parlour	Chamber over Kitchen	Great Chamber	Maids Chamber	Mens Chamber	Shop	Garret	Other
		*	*	*	*									+ Barn
	*	*	*	*	*				*					Store Chamber & Dairyhouse + Barns.
	*	*	*	*	*							*	*	Backhouse & Cellar
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*					+ Barn
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*					
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*					Store Chamber
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*					
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*			*		+ a workhouse
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*					
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*					
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*			*		+ Barn
	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*			*		

description of the rooms in his inventory fits the layout of this house exactly. He left it to Dorothy Woodroffe, who was the occupant at the time of the Hearth Tax return of 1666. The route taken by the party who assessed the houses in this part of Marchington Woodlands can be fairly accurately followed, and offers additional circumstantial evidence for the identification. The rooms of the house were houseplace, parlour, kitchen, 3 chambers over these 3 rooms, a room over the cellar, and a cockloft. All the rooms except houseplace, kitchen and cockloft had beds in them. The houseplace, parlour and kitchen each had a hearth, the one in the houseplace having a panelled chimneypiece. 4 of the rooms also had a table and at least 4 chairs or buffet stools each, giving the impression that quite a lot of people lived there. Thomas Coke was a man of considerable substance, and a man of consequence in Marchington affairs also. His inventory totalled £417, and among his possessions were a sword and rapier, girdlestaves, a forest bill, pen, inkhorn, penknife and parchment, books, and a clock. He wrote a fine cultured hand. His own will, a lengthy document, is an example, as are the wills and inventories of a number of Marchington men of the period.

This house is one of a number of fine yeoman houses which appear about this time in all the parishes being considered, including Uttoxeter itself. Edward Bott, a Uttoxeter yeoman, left his freehold and burgage in the High Street to his son Thomas in 1638. The house comprised the hall, best parlour, little parlour, chamber over the parlour, closet (study), chamber over the little parlour, chamber over the hall, chamber over the entry, and the buttery, 9 rooms in all, plus a stable and a barn. It was furnished in similar style to Thomas Coke's. His books and chest were in the panelled room over the parlour. The best parlour had a panelled curtained bed in it as well as a table and frame, 7 joined stools and a joined chair. The 'cubberthead' in the house (i.e. the hall dresser) had 2 brass candlesticks and 2 brass spoons standing on it.

Although more than two thirds of the houses of 6 rooms or more were the houses of yeomen or their widows, the really large houses were nearly all the property of gentlemen or esquires. The exceptions were Thomas Gilbert 1626 and Thomas Aspinall 1644 both yeomen of Uttoxeter, who each had a house of 14 rooms. Edward Mastergent's property of 17 rooms and Thomas Smith's of 13 rooms were not strictly speaking the houses of gentlemen, but the sons of both of them were so described. Presumably it was their wealth which brought them into the ranks of the gentry. The inventories of two of these large houses are included in the Appendix. The first, that of Walter Vernon Esq., was Houndhill in Marchington. This house stood on the site of the present house. In 1592/3 the rooms were, in order of perambulation, kitchen, buttery, pantry, storehouse, closet, dining chamber, middle chamber, hall, nursery, inner chamber, kitchen chamber, green chamber, little chamber, and 2 over chambers. It seems likely that the appraisers valued the ground floor effects first, coming in at the kitchen entrance. After the hall they would have gone upstairs, and after the little chamber gone up another flight of stairs, or a ladder, since these 2 over chambers, each containing only a bed, sound very much like attic rooms. The second house, that of Richard Adderley Esq., was Coton Old Hall. The rooms here in 1641 were, in order of perambulation, hall, dining parlour, buttery, cellar, great chamber, chamber over the parlour, middle chamber, chamber over the entry, buttery chamber, maids' chamber, chamber over the larder, stable chamber, gatehouse chamber, brewhouse, dairyhouse, and kitchen. Stebbing Shaw wrote of this house in 1799:

"The antient hall was of plaster and timber, with large gable ends, porch, and Elizabethan windows, in a pane of which was cut the name of Prince Rupert, who probably was there during the Civil Wars. This curious old fabrick being much decayed, was pulled down about ten years since...."

Certainly the inventories for these 2 houses are so comprehensive and detailed, even including types and colours of furnishing materials, as to give a clear and vivid picture of the internal arrangements of the houses of 2 country gentlemen of 350 and 400 years ago. It is interesting to note that in Richard Adderley's inventory most of the rooms were recorded with fire-irons, indicating the presence of a hearth. The Hearth Tax return of 1666 does show that there were 12 hearths in that house. As it was made only 24 years after Adderley's death, it is quite likely that the internal arrangements were unchanged. A final postscript on this house is on the subject of featherbeds, of which there was one in every principal room there. Among the effects of Mary Adderley, a spinster granddaughter 50 years later, was:

"One feather bed at John Astles sold by her at seaven pence a pound in weight Eighty four pounds £29.0....."

Even if one allows a third of this weight for the tick itself, it still represents an enormous quantity of feathers, and must have been wonderfully soft to lie on.

There are 3 vicarage houses whose rooms are described, those of Dovebridge, Hanbury, and Gratwich. Dovebridge was an 11 roomed house in 1635. Hanbury vicarage had 7 rooms and a barn, according to Richard Hill's inventory of 1609/10. The engraving of 1791 printed in Stebbing Shaw of Hanbury church and parsonage shows a much larger house than that, but it is of course almost 200 years later, and the building of 1610 would have been much altered, if not actually demolished and rebuilt, during that time. The parsonage house at Gratwich was quite small, only 4 rooms, and was roofed with shingles. There are no Glebe Terriers or Faculties

from this early period giving any information about these houses or possible alterations and additions to them. Kingstone has a Glebe Terrier for 1612, but it merely states that the parsonage house had 3 bays of building.

Building materials are infrequently mentioned, but when they are it is almost always wood. *'Timber for building'* occurs regularly enough in inventories throughout the period. John Dymoke of Uttoxeter left his son timber for a new bay of building to his house in Carter Street in 1552/3. John Alcock of Hanbury 1621 left *'one baye of building ready framed 40s., Plaster 3s., Wood and timber logs 40s...'* Robert Towers of Knipersley in Marchington Woodlands died a little after the end of the period, but his request in his will is apposite:

"to be carefull of my woods and not to fall or suffer to be felled but for necessary of buildings belonging to my messuage...."

Even such a large and splendid building as Coton Old Hall was constructed of plaster and timber, as has been noted already, and there seems little doubt that almost all the well-built houses of this period in this area were timber framed and plaster filled, and a fair number of lesser houses much more insubstantial.

Bricks do occasionally appear in inventories. One early testator, John Spenser of Uttoxeter 1544 noted in his will that *'Mr. Blount oweth me for bordyng hys brekemakers 20s....'* but references to brick come generally towards the end of the period. John Budworth of Marchington 1629 had 300 bricks worth 5s. (this will is in the Rolls of the Manor Court), and in the inventory of William Cotton of Crakemarshe 1642 are 1000 bricks valued at 10s. It is highly likely that brick would have been used when chimneys were installed in many timber framed houses during this period. Indeed there are to this day many such houses existing in which the chimneypiece is the only part of the building made of brick. Some of the fireplaces were obviously quite splendid affairs. Iron firebacks and firedogs as heirlooms often appear among effects. The fireplace with a panelled surround has already been mentioned. Humfrey Clarke's house in Marchington in 1628 had a fine well-furnished hall with additionally

"One chayre one stoole and ii little cupboards in the Easter..."

making this sound like a good-sized inglenook, probably constructed of brick. However it is significant that there are no wills or inventories for brickmakers or bricklayers, whereas there are 8 for carpenters, 3 for sawyers, and 1 for a shingler, and tools of various kinds connected with the working of timber occur in large numbers.

It is difficult to gauge how frequently windows had glass to them. Undoubtedly many houses would have been just shuttered, with window sheets to let in some light but keep out the worst of inclement weather during the day. There are a few inventories in which the window glass is valued, in each room, as a separate item. There is also 1 will and inventory for a glazier, and it does seem possible that, at least towards the end of the period, there were houses with glazed windows without the fact being recorded in the inventory.

The names of rooms in houses of this area remain fairly consistent throughout the period. For the earlier part, and for 2 roomed houses throughout, the principal room is the house or houseplace, and the second room the parlour. In larger houses, and later in the period, hall occurs more frequently for the principal room. third and fourth rooms were often also called parlours, with some qualifying descriptions, such as upper, nether, small, etc. Chamber occurs more often towards the end of the period, again with qualifying adjectives of size, position, or use, sometimes even of colour, or personal (Mr. Walter's chamber, for instance). Entry occurs with several interpretations. *'Room over the entry'* must sometimes indicate a room over a carriageway between 2 parts of a property, leading to a rear courtyard or stables. Sometimes *'the entry'* contained sufficient items of furniture to indicate that it was a room in its own right, or possibly an entrance hall or lobby, and sometimes it appears to have been a corridor or passageway. Closet was usually used for a study, but occasionally it appears to have been a pantry or some almost room-sized storage chamber. Cellars were always below ground level, but it appears that butteries were not always the same thing, since a number of butteries had windows. Garrets and cocklofts appear towards the end of the period, and seem always to have referred to second storey accommodation, usually in the roofspace itself. Shore occurs occasionally, meaning some sort of lean-to building at the end or side of the house. Christopher Clarke of Willslock in Uttoxeter 1585 left:

"to Gillian Blunte one reade cowe and yf that she keepe her selfe soule and unmarried during her lyfe I gyve to the seid Gilliane one showre at my house end and 3 peare of bedde steeds standing in the seid showre and these to remaine during her lyfe if that it be not predistiall ur hurtfull to my leace of the said farme..."

The documentary evidence does generally show that, while at the beginning of the period more of the houses were small and their contents very basic and utilitarian, by the end of the period there were many which were larger, much better provided, and showing evidence of greater wealth. The kitchen inventories make it quite evident that they all ate quite well, and it almost goes without saying that, after a day's really hard work and a good meal, the actual quality of the sleeping accommodation, and who it was shared with, were secondary considerations. No doubt those really old people who lived through a large part of this period would have been quite delighted with some of the improvements to their living accommodation and lifestyle indoors generally. A

chamber pot (they appear much more often towards the end of the period) is a luxury if it replaces going out into a garden or yard on a bitterly cold winter's night, and a close stool (they only appear later) must have really represented mod. cons. to a few of these early Stuart households.

It would not be right to end this study without some consideration of how much Peter Lightfoot's Map of Uttroxtet of 1658, with its accompanying schedule of owners and occupiers, relates to some of the men and women and their houses looked at in this study, since the map is dated so closely after the end of the period. It does give a wonderful picture of the layout of the town at that date. There are three questions which must inevitably be asked. Firstly, to what extent were the little drawings of houses actual representations of what was really there? Secondly, how many of the houses whose actual number of rooms are known can be placed on the map? And thirdly, how many descendants of testators from the period considered can be positively identified in the schedule accompanying the map?

The first question cannot really be answered with any certainty. It may fairly safely be assumed that the general positioning of properties was reasonably accurate but that relative matters of scale and size are not. Long lines of houses are drawn on the map all looking much the same. It may have been that they were, but when one looks at surviving streets from past centuries up and down the country, it is the enormous diversity which is always apparent. There is the feeling that the larger houses in the town, or very individual and unusual properties, have been given some distinction.

In answer to the second question, there are 6 houses which can definitely be placed on the map, and 3 of these were just those sorts of larger very individual places. The first is that of Edward Finimore the fellmonger who died in 1638. This was the property on the North corner of Bradley Lane where it meets the High Street, described on the map as '*late Fynmore*'. According to the inventory, the rooms were the house, chamber over the house, parlour, chamber over the parlour, servants' parlour, kitchen, shop, workhouse and yards. The workhouse, and possibly the shop too, would have been the separate building with its gable end facing on to Bradley Lane, with the yards around, and the building occupying the corner site itself the rest of the accommodation. Edward Finimore bequeathed to his son John the Smithy Lane Croft, of 2 acres, abutting on the North side to Richard Middleton and on the South side to Richard Burton, according to his will. This croft is also shown on the map, more or less due West from his house, and behind the houses on the West side of the High Street. But North of the croft is, on the map, late Middleton and South is now Thos. Gilbert of the Cock. Peter Lightfoot's scale is way out here. A 2 acre rectangular plot would be 44 paces by 220 paces, counting each pace as 1 yard. The second identifiable house is that of 6 rooms belonging to Robert Spencer, a butcher, who in his will of 1620 left his house in Balance Street to his wife Isabel, and after her death to his third son, Robert. This Robert, or possibly his son, would have been the Mr. Spencer named on the map. The third house is that of Robert Gilbert, ironmonger, a house of 6 rooms, including the shop, which he left in 1649 to his wife Joan and son John. It was in that island block of properties between Market Street and Back Lane, the fourth from the West end, where the Leek Building Society offices are today. The rooms were the shop, the house, buttry, best chamber, middle chamber and high chamber. The other 3 identifiable houses are those of Edward Bott, already discussed, which was at the North end of the High Street next to Finimore's; The Old Crown, also discussed; and Margery Wood's house. She died in 1645, and was the mother of Mr. James Wood of The Hall lately Mynors, on the Doveridge Road. This was a splendid establishment, and her inventory gives a good picture of how her effects were disposed about the house.

In answer to the third question, there are another 23 wills which can be related directly to owners or past owners or tenants named on the map or in the schedule. 7 of the most interesting are considered here.

William Beech was a mercer bachelor, who died in 1639 leaving all to his brother Thomas. This shop can be seen on the map on the East side of the High Street between Bradley Lane and Church Lane. As already noted in the last study, his shop wares were quite valuable, although no details about them survive. His household effects however were very frugal. Some brass and pewterware, 1 frying pan, some iron and wooden ware, 1 plate, his bed and bedclothes, 2 small tables, 1 press, 1 chair, and 3 stools. This house sounds likely to have been just the shop and 2 other rooms.

Francis Sergeant was another mercer who also died in 1639. His brother James was one of his appraisers. James' premises were No.4 in Market Street on the map. The brothers may well have been in business together. Next door to this at No.5 on the map is the '*Crown*' occupied by Townsend's heirs, and round the corner in Church Lane is the '*Crow and Gate*', also Townsend's heirs. Arthur and John Townsend both died early in 1642. They were both carriers and were possibly brothers. It is not surprising that they were operating from inns, as this was normal carrying practice at that time. There is neither will nor inventory for Arthur, merely a letter to the Chancellor of the Diocese from his widow Thomasin requesting a grant of administration for his goods; but among John's effects were 6 horses, 2 mares, and all their tack, with a waggon, waincloth and cords valued in all at over £30. As these were both intestacies, it is possible that they were involved in some sort

of misfortune together and died at the same time.

Richard Moore, a chapman with a 4 roomed house in Marchington, also owned 2 houses in Uttoxeter, whose situations are described in his will of 1625/6. One was '*next the Vicarage Yard built by Geo. Bradbury dec'd with a garden and old orchard called Nethercroft*' and the other was '*a new building and new orchard next to Walter Mynor's orchard with access through the entry*'. These 2 houses are the '*tenements late Moores*' on the schedule, situated on the map between the vicarage grounds and Mr. Wood's enclosure.

Edward Pixley died in 1647 intestate. His trade is not known, although his father had been a shoemaker. His inventory was appraised by Francis and Edward Tomkinson who according to Lightfoot's schedule occupied property on the road to Doveridge on either side of Joan Pixley, tenant of Thos. Kinnersley. Joan Pixley would have been Edward's wife or daughter.

Robert Tompson, vicar of Dovebridge, was undoubtedly a wealthy man when he died. He owned 4 properties in Uttoxeter, including Delves Hall. One of these which can be identified was left to his daughter Frances '*in the tenure of Thomas Griffin*'. This appears in the schedule, and on the map is the fourth house up the High Street from the junction with Carter Street.

The house numbered 33 in Market Street on the map, and described in the schedule as belonging to Uttoxeter Poor, was formerly John Dines' house, left by him in trust in 1644, to fund apprenticeships for poor boys of the town. The operation of this charity is dealt with in the sixth of these Studies.

Finally, on the subject of this map and schedule, those owners ought to be considered, particularly multiple ones, for whose families there are no wills at all. Some of course may be men who had recently moved into the district and stayed on. But it seems more likely that they were mostly men who simply invested in property in the town but never lived in it. Principally among them are John Shawcross or Shalcross Esq., owner of 7 properties, Gynkes, James Keeling, Thomas Fauldring, and William Heaton, with 4 properties each, and members of the Flyer family. This last had certainly had connections with Uttoxeter for a very long period, but it seems that, by the middle years of the seventeenth century at any rate, they no longer lived there. It is quite apparent that there was constant and considerable movement both into and out of the area by both owners and tenants. In this respect the period is no different from the centuries which preceded it and from those which followed. One of the most remarkable features of the 2 Rentals for Marchington of 1381 and 1415, only 34 years apart, is the enormous turnover of names there; and equally remarkable that, in the 2 Surveys made at the beginning of the seventeenth century there, only 25 names out of several hundred from those 2 early rentals remain. Occasionally very positive evidence appears with wills. Geo. Bradbury of Uttoxeter 1618 made John Lovatt of Callowhill in Kingstone his sole executor, but a separate deposition made to the Chancellor reads:

"May it please you that whereas our late neighbour Geo. Bradbury deceased did make one John Lovatt his executor in his last will as appeareth, we whose names are hereunder written do certify unto you that the same Lovatt hath renounced his executorship since the testators decease and further he is gon forth of the country to dwell in what place we know not..."

APPENDIX 1 CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF WILLS WITH HOUSE INFORMATION

<i>Year</i>	<i>Parish or Village</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Trade or Status</i>	<i>Name of House</i>	<i>No. of rooms</i>
1544	Uttoxeter	Humfrey Mynors	Gentleman	Woodland Hall	-
1550	Newborough	John Hygge	-	-	2
1551	Dovebridge	John Fitzherbert	Priest	Vicarage	more than 2
1552/3	Uttoxeter	John Dymoke	-	(in Carter Street)	-
1553	Marchington Woodlands	James Thyrcell	-	Smallwood Hall	7 + barn
1554	Hoarcross	John Robarts	Shingler	-	2
1557	Dovebridge	John Wyld	-	-	2
1558/9	Uttoxeter	Roger Taylyor	Yeoman	Taylyors Hall	2
1562	Uttoxeter	William More	Barber	-	4 + shop
1564	Eyton (D)	Agnes Clarke	Widow	-	2 + cr. passage
1568	Uttoxeter	John Talor	Glover and Innholder	The Crown	5 + shop
1570	Gratwich	John Warde	Priest	Vicarage	4
1575	Newborough	Thos Whittington	Gentleman	-	3
1576	Hanbury	George Lompe	-	The Mott House	-
1585	Crakemars	Thomas Hollis	Butcher	-	3
1588	Newborough	William Foorde	-	-	2
1588	Newborough ?	William Fenton	-	-	3
1588/9	Kingstone	Agnes Netam	Widow	-	3
1589	Newborough	William Batkin	-	-	2
1592/3	Marchington	Walter Vernon	Esquire	Houndhill	15
1593	Kingstone	Richard Bayley	-	-	2 or 3
1597	Loxley (U)	John Lyon	-	-	4
1597	Loxley (U)	Anne Lyon	-	-	4
1599/1600	Newborough	Francis Whittington	Esquire	-	4
1600	Thorney Lanes	James Slaney	-	-	9
1601	Uttoxeter	Edmund Allen	Capper	-	2
1601	Loxley (K)	Elizabeth Taylor	Widow	-	3
1602	Uttoxeter	Ralph Mynors	Gentleman	Hollinbury Hall	-
1605	Uttoxeter	Robert Sherwin	Miller	-	4
1606	Uttoxeter	John Rotheram	Yeoman	-	5
1608	Thorney Lanes	Mary Slaney	Widow	-	9 + entry
1609	Uttoxeter Woodlands	Thomas Hart	Yeoman	-	9
1609/10	Hanbury	Richard Hill	Priest	Vicarage	7 + barn
1610	Hanbury	Helenor Whittington	Widow (of TW 1575)	-	3
1611	Newborough	Edward Wetton	Cooper	-	3 + stable
1612	Newborough	Francis Poole	Esquire	Mott Hall	6
1612	Crakemars (U)	Thomas Smith Sen.	-	-	8
1612	Thorney Lanes (H)	Thomas Hinckley	Carpenter	-	6
1613	Stubbylane (H)	Alice Walker	Widow	-	4 +
1614	Callowhill (K)	Richard Kinson	-	-	3
1615	Dovebridge	John More Sen.	Husbandman	-	4 + barn
1615	Bramshall	John Warner	Gentleman	-	13
1615/16	Bramshall	Thomas Patricke	-	-	6
1616	Coton (H)	William Graunger	Yeoman	-	9 + barn + stable
1616/17	Stramshall (U)	John Woolley	-	-	4 + barn
1617/18	Uttoxeter	George Bradbury	Wheelwright	-	4
1616	Newborough	William Jackson	Keeper	-	5 + barn
1616	Uttoxeter	Thomas Smith	-	-	12 + shop
1618	Stubbylane (H)	George Bold	-	-	3
1618	Uttoxeter Woodlands	George Pickforke	-	-	3 + barn
1618	Dovebridge	Francis Wilde	-	-	3
1618/19	Coton (H)	George Lumpe	Yeoman	The Mott House	-
1618/19	Kingstone	Geoffrey Stedman	Yeoman	Wanfield	-
1619	Uttoxeter	William Startin	Shearman	-	6 + shop

<i>Year</i>	<i>Parish or Village</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Trade or Status</i>	<i>Name of House</i>	<i>No. of rooms</i>
1620	Fauld (H)	John Alcocke Sen.	Yeoman	-	6 + 2 barns
1620	Bramshall	Thomas Shaw	Husbandman	-	8+barn + co.hse
1620	Uttoxeter	Robert Spencer	Butcher	(in Balance Street)	6
1620	Uttoxeter	Richard Wakefield	-	-	6
1620/21	Draycott (H)	George Bull	Yeoman	-	3
1621	Uttoxeter	Thomas Bradshaw	Innholder/Carpenter	-	6 + shop
1621	Hanbury	Robert Case	-	-	7
1621	Uttoxeter	Hugh Gray	-	-	8
1621	Uttoxeter	Edward Mastergent	Innkeeper	Crown	17
1621	Newborough	Elizabeth Jackson	Widow	-	7 + barn
1621/22	Loxley (U)	Walter Massey	Keeper	-	7
1622	Kingstone	John Emerie	Husbandman	-	4
1622	Uttoxeter	Thomas Smith	Gentleman	-	7
1622/23	Stubbylane (H)	Tobias Budworth	-	-	3
1622/23	Uttoxeter	Richard Mynors	Gentleman	Hollinbury Hall	9
1623	Uttoxeter	William Blurton	-	-	4 or 5
1623	Uttoxeter	Willam Spencer	Shoemaker	-	6
1623	Hanbury Woodend	John Warner	-	-	3
1624	Hanbury	John Case	-	-	6
1624	Uttoxeter	Mary Sherwin	Widow	-	4
1625	Uttoxeter	Edward Abell	Yeoman	-	6
1625/26	Creighton	John Higges	Yeoman	-	6
1625/26	Uttoxeter	Gilbert Moore	Glover	-	3
1625/26	Uttoxeter	Richard Moore	Chapman	House in Marchtn.	4
1626	Uttoxeter	William Crispe	Yeoman	-	3
1626	Uttoxeter	Thomas Gilbert	Yeoman	-	14 + shop
1627	Uttoxeter	Thomas Degge	Yeoman	-	8
1628	Uttoxeter	Henry Browne	Yeoman	Blounts Hall	3 + barn
1628	Bramshall	John Hayley	Yeoman	-	5
1628/29	Bramshall	William Middleton	-	-	3
1630	Callowhill	Simon Whitehall	-	-	9
1631	Bramshall	John Patricke	Husbandman	-	6
1631	Uttoxeter	James Rotheram	-	-	6
1632/33	Hanbury Woodend	John Strickland	Yeoman	-	5+lit.porch&barns
1633/34	Uttoxeter	Edward Bott	Yeoman	(in High Street)	9 + stable
1634	Callowhill (K)	Thomas Sherratt	Glazier	-	8
1634	Kingstone	Helen Needham	Widow	-	4
1634/35	Hanbury Woodend	Samuel Banks	Husbdman./Labourer	-	2
1635	Dovebridge	Robert Tompson	Priest	Vicarage	11
1635	Uttoxeter	John Wilde	Barber Surgeon	-	10 + cellar
1636	Marchington	William Boothby	Yeoman	-	3
1636	Marchington Woodlands	Dorothy Fleeminge	Widow	-	3
1636	Draycott (H)	Humfrey Budworth	Husbandman	-	2 or 3
1637	Uttoxeter	John Gratwich	Yeoman	-	5
1638	Uttoxeter	John Archbold	Gentleman	-	9 + barn
1638	Uttoxeter	John Durose	Corviser	-	3
1638	Uttoxeter	Edward Finnimore	Fellmonger	-	6 + shp + whs
1638	Hanbury	Michael Henshaw	Priest	-	4
1638	Uttoxeter	Isabell Weild	Widow	-	8 + cellar
1638/39	Marchington	William Harrison	Tanner	-	10
1640	Dovebridge	Mary Tompson	Widow	-	7
1640	Hanbury	Thomas Waite	Keeper	Eland Lodge	at least 7
1641	Dovebridge	Katherin Falconer	Widow	-	4
1641	Uttoxeter	George Spooner	Miller	-	3
1642	Coton (H)	Richard Adderley	Esquire	Coton Old Hall	15
1642	Crakemarsch (U)	William Cotton	Esquire	-	16

<i>Year</i>	<i>Parish or Village</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Trade or Status</i>	<i>Name of House</i>	<i>No. of rooms</i>
1644	Uttoxeter	Thomas Aspinall	Yeoman	-	(1)14 (2)4
1644	Uttoxeter	Henry Hoult	-	-	5
1644	Hanbury	Elizabeth Wayte	Widow	Eland Lodge	at least 7
1645	Marchington	Walter Minors	Esquire	at Woodgate ?	11
1645	Marchington Woodlands	Richard Smith Jun.	Yeoman	-	5
1645	Uttoxeter	Margery Wood	Widow	-	15 + cellar
1646/47	Stubbylane (H)	Christopher Roe	Yeoman	-	7
1647	Uttoxeter	Katherine Mastergent	-	Widow	Swan House-
1648	Creighton (U)	Thomas Hampson	-	-	4 + barn
1648	Thorneylanes (H)	Richard Jackson	Yeoman	-	4 or 5
1648	Marchington Woodlands	Thomas Coke	Yeoman	(Woodroffes ?)	8
1649	Marchington Woodlands	William Allen	Husbandman	-	4
1649	Dovebridge	Roger Fletcher	Tailor	-	4 + barn
1649	Uttoxeter	Robert Gilbert	Ironmonger	-	7 + shop
1650	Uttoxeter	Margery Mynors	Widow	Hollinbury Hall (but not named)	11

APPENDIX 2 INVENTORIES.

All spellings are here as written, but quantities and values are here given in arabic numerals, instead of the Roman numerals nearly always used, in this area, before 1650.

(1) Walter Vernon Esq.

An inventory of the goods and cattelles of Walter Vernon late of Houndhill within the County of Staffordre Esquiere who diseased 10. of Januare AD 1592 seene and praysed the 16th. daye of Januarie in the yeare aforementined by Edmund Hurte John Morton Raphe Poker Richard Bothbye Henry Porter Henry Heminges as followeth

Imprimis	Eighte oxenn	34. 0. 0.
Item	17 kyne one bull 2 kyne and 2 calves	45. 0. 0.
"	18 twinters	25. 0. 0.
"	7 yearlines	6. 6. 0.
"	2 geldinges	8. 0. 0.
"	5 mares	9. 0. 0.
"	3 sadles and bridles	13. 4.
"	one three yeares oulde	6. 0. 0.
"	2 twinter coultes and one yearlinge coulte	2. 0. 0.
"	2 weaninge coultes	2. 0. 0.
"	41 sheepe	12. 6. 8.
"	one fatte swyne	13. 4.
"	one Sowe and 10 shoats	2. 4. 0.
"	6 turkayes	4. 0.
"	8 capones	4. 0.
"	4 hennes and one cocke	1. 4.
"	5 geise	2. 6.
"	one peacocke wt one henne	1. 8.
"	one croppe of wheate in ye feilde sown 30 strickes	7. 0. 0.
"	55 strickes of barlie threshen and 10 strickes of moulte	4. 0. 0.
"	wheate in ye barne	4. 0. 0.
"	peasone in ye barne	6. 0. 0.
"	hay in sundrye places	10. 0. 0.
"	sawede tymber for weanscotte one weane wt irone bond wheeles 4 iron cheanes 1cwt.80lb.	13. 6. 2.
"	fourre yokes wt geares to them one plowe wt iron belonging and one paire of harrowes	4.10. 0.
"	tymber for weane and plowe	6. 8.
"	one grinding stonne wt one iron axletree	1. 8.
"	3 irone wedges one axe one hatchett and one bill	3. 4.

"	one mattocke one spade one muckehooke and towe hay hookes	1. 0.
"	Hempe and flaxe	13. 4.
"	6 brasse pannes	1. 0. 0.
In ye brewe house		
	3 weetinge fates one ould heave for ye kylne wt bowkes lomes kymneles peales cheisefates churnes one cheisepresse one stricke seave one bouldinge tubbe earthen milke panes shealfes for cheise bowters and mile bagges	15. 0.
In the chitchen		
	Imp. 3 brasse pottes 2 dobnettes one skyllett 2 skimmers 4 coldrens 2 dripinge panes one frying pane 4 broches one peare of coberdes one peare of landeirones one fyer forke one shovell one barre of irone carynge ye potte cheanes one gridiron 2 peare of potthookes one chopinge kniffe one clyver one mincinge kniffe and one peare of mustard stonnes	2.10. 0.
Itm.	50 peaces of pewter more or lesse one ould faste and one shealfe	1. 3. 4.
In ye buttrye		
	8 barrels 2 lomes a fast covered wt heareclothe a square table and one skante	10. 0.
In the panetree		
	one bason one ure 2 voyders for ye table 2 flagen cannes of lyne 4 lyne candlestickes one litle mortar of maslyne a pestle one chaffinge dish one pastie plate of lyne 6 dossen of fine trenchers one dossen of case trenchers one dussen of fruite platters one stockelocke and one basen of pewter	1. 0. 0.
In the Store House		
	in butter and cheise	5. 0. 0.
In the Closset		
	glasse bottles and drinkeinge glasses wt other glasses and 1 warmyng pane	3. 4.
In the dyninge Chamber		
	Imp. one frame table 6 buffet stoules 7 buffet stoules covered wt murrey and blewe one covered wt taffete 2 lowe buffet stoules one covered with murrey ye other with blewe Tow cubborde tables 6 couchens thrumede in coloures one carpett of blewe for a cubborde one coverlett carpett for ye longe table 7 couchens covered with greene cloathe one backe cheare covered with strawe coloured taffete 3 throne cheares one peare of lande irons one brasse dyall one fyer shovell one peare of tonges one peare of bellows	3.14. 0.
Itm.	the bible wt other litle bookes	4. 0.
In the middle chamber		
Imp.	A lance armour wt a foulinge peece one peare of gantletts one lancestaffe	2. 0. 0.
Itm.	2 cofers ironbonde 2 trunks 3 borded coffers one smale coffer and a deske	1. 0. 0.
"	one bedde steede one coverlett one peare of pillowes a testorne one peare of curtenes of say	10. 0.
In ye hall		
	Towe tables and tow formes	6. 8.
In the nurcye		
	towe beddesteedes 2 fether beddes one mattresse 2 bouldsters one peare of blanketts 2 coverlettes one ould canopie of greene say and ye chamber hangede with wachede say	2. 6. 8.
In ye Inner chamber		
	one mattresse one blankett one coverlett and one boulder	9. 0.
In ye chitchen chamber		
	one wenscotte bedde curtens of of redde say one mattresse one fether bedde one boulder one peare of fusteone pillowes tow blanketts one whyte cadowe one trickle bedde one matresse one fetherbedde one boulder one coverlett and one livery cubborde	3.10. 0.
In ye greene chamber		
	one standinge badde headed wt wenscott wt curtens and testerne of greene say hangede wt valens one mattresse one fether bedde one boulder one peare of fusteone pillowes 3 blanketts one coveringe of tapstree ye chamber hangede wt green say one liverye chested cubborde one backe cheare tow couchens	

	and one lowe stoull all wrought with idle worke one coushen of tuftafatee one livery cubborde cloathe of blewe	10. 0. 0.
In the litle Chamber	one bedde steede one matresse one fether bedde one boulster one peare of pillowes of fusteone 3 blankettes one coverynge of tapstree one canopie of carell (crewel ?) one livery cubborde one carpet of blewe for ye same	4. 0. 0.
In the over chamber	one fether bedde 2 blankettes one boulster one coverlet and one coveringe	
In the other over chamber	one matresse one boulster one coverlett 2 blanketts	1.10. 0.
Item	4 fitches of bacone	1. 0. 0.
	one sylver salte and 11 sylver spones	4. 0. 0.
Hempe Lynens	Imp.11 peare of sheetes	1.13. 4.
Itm.	3 table cloathes 6 cubborde cloathes 2 towels one dussen of napkins	12. 0.
Flaxe Lynens	Imp.one peare of sheetes of breadthes	1.10. 0.
Itm.	8 peare of sheetes of 2 breadthes	4. 0. 0.
"	one hollande sheete	6. 8.
"	6 longe table cloathes	1. 4. 0.
"	5 cubborde cloathes and 7 towels	15. 0.
"	8 peare of pillowe beares	16. 0.
"	one peare of wrought pillowe beares	13. 4.
"	one dyaper drinkeinge cloath and one dyaper towell and one table cloath	10. 0.
"	halfe a dussen of dyaper napkins	6. 0.
"	6 dussen of napkyns and 2 odde napkines	3. 0. 0.
	Sum total is	£261. 0. 6.
Itm.	debtes owynge to the sayde defunct by severall specialities to the some of	£400. 0. 0.

(2) Richard Adderley Esq.

An Inventory of All and Singular the goods cattell and Chattells plate ready money and Household stuffe of Richard Aderley late of Coton in the County of Staffs Esquire deceased taken and praysed the 26th. daie of August A.D. 1641 by Richard Walton John Porter Humfrey Hill and Anthony Cope as followeth.

Imprimis his wearing apparell	4. 0. 0.
Itm. in ready money	7. 6. 0.
Itm. six oxen and two steeres	56. 0. 0.
" 21 kyne and two bulls	84. 0. 0.
" six steeres	24. 0. 0.
" six other steeres and 3 twynter heyfers	24. 0. 0.
" one other bull	3. 0. 0.
In the Hall	
three tables fower formes one yron locke one land iron and a longe forest bill	1. 1. 0.
In the dyninge parlor	
two tables five ioyned stooles fower long stooles two chaires six cushions and two dornix Carpitts	1.16. 0.
In the buttery and Seller	
one table two formes one Cheste and (torn) hogsheads and barrells	10. 0.
In the greate chamber	
a drawing table two side tables with three carpitts	1.13. 4.
Itm two chaires 12 stooles and a screene	2. 6. 0.
In the Chamber over the parlor	
one cubbard with a drawer two chaires one stoole a greene Cubbard cloth a window cushion a Window curten a drawing Curten one fyer Shovell and tonges and two little landirons	15. 0.
Itm. one feild bed and bolster with tester curtens and valense laced one pillowe one woll bed a pare of blanketts and a rugg	7. 0. 0.

In the Middle Chamber		
one standing bed Curtens and Valens 1 fether bed one bolster one pillowe 3 blanketts		4. 0. 0.
1 rugg 1 wollbed a court cubbard a chaire window curtens and hangings		
In the buttery chamber		
1 standing bedsted with curtens and valens 1 fether bed bolster and wollbed one		3.13. 0.
covering one table 1 quilt 3 blanketts and a rugg one truckle bed and one table		
In the chamber over the Entrye		
one standing bedstedd with Curtens and valens 2 fetherbeds one bolster fower		
pillowes two blanketts one white rugge a presse 2 chaires onestoole 1 table three		6.10. 0.
trunkes a matteris and a little deske with small boxes		
In the maides chamber		
2 bedsteeds one fetherbed one wollbed 2 blanketts wt some other lumber		1. 0. 0.
In the chamber over the Larder		
one feild bed wt Curtens and valens one fether bed bolster and blankett one wollbed		
one little table one wodden Chaire 1 twiggen Chaire a wanscott presse window		3. 5. 0.
Curtens and Curten rodde 2 landirons and a cubbard cushion		
In the stable chamber		
A bedsted mattis and bolster blanketts coverletts saddles bridles and other lumber		1. 0. 0.
In the gatehouse chamber		
two bedsteeds one fetherbed and bolster two blanketts 2 coverletts a forme and an		
old clocke		1.13. 0.
Lynnen		
Itm 9 flaxen table clothes £3.5.0. 2 hempen table clothes and 6 Cubbard clothes		
£1.10.0. 9 dozen of napkins £1.5.0. 9 flaxen towells and one diaper towell £2 Ten pare		
of flaxen sheets and 2 pr of hollandsheetes 11 pare of pillowbeeres and 9 pare of		15.10. 0.
courser sheetes		10. 0. 0.
Brasse of all sorts		9. 0. 0.
Pewter of all sorts		3. 0. 0.
Itm one Jacke spitte dripping pans and other yron implements in ye kitchen		
Plate		
Itm 4 silver beereboles two wyne bolles wherof one guilte one silver fann one flatt		
bolle parcell guilte one guilte bell salte 22 guilt spoones one plane silver salte		28. 0. 0.
and one beker		12. 0. 0.
Itm. 6 yereling Cowstirks		6.13. 4.
Itm. fower oxe stirkes		8. 0. 0.
Itm. Ten weaning calves		6.16. 0.
Itm. Swyne of all sorts		24. 0. 0.
Itm. horseflesh of all sorts		2. 0. 0.
Itm. nyne sheepe		60. 0. 0.
Itm. Come of all sorts in ye barne		
Itm. two waines harrowes plowes Irons bills axes wedges and other implemts of		
husbandry with planks and stedds		5. 0. 0.
Itm. plow timber whole timber ladders steeping fatt harecloth maltchest with other sawed		
timber and lumber		4. 0. 0.
In the brewhouse		
divers brewing vessells a maltmill and other necessarye implements there		2. 0. 0.
In the dairy howse		
A cheese presse Churne tubbs pailles kinnells and other necessarye implements there		1. 3. 4.
Summa totalis		£435. 5. 0.
Itm. a Silver bason and a ure and a silver sugar dish		31. 8. 0.
Itm. about threescore Cheeses		3. 0. 0.
Itm. some Woll and Flaxxe		1. 0. 0.

STUDY 4. THE RURAL PRIEST. RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES IN RURAL SOCIETY.

In all the wills being considered for these Studies, 81 priests' names appear. 63 of these, by far the greater part, appear only in the wills of lay folk, most often simply as witnesses, but sometimes as writers, overseers, or beneficiaries. They can usually be identified with some office in the parish, because the testator names the office. For the majority of those 63, their names, and their office, are their only memorial. They left no wills themselves, and frequently their whole lives predate the surviving Parish Registers and other parish documentation which could possibly throw some light on their activities in the parish and community. Sadly, there is no Ralph Josselin here, revealing himself through his journal; and it is a fact that it is the famous, the infamous, and the notorious who tend to people the pages of the historical record from these times. For the rest, the rank and file of the country priesthood as it were, fragmentary sketches can slowly be made from circumstantial evidence which appears in other people's wills. For the 18 priests for whom direct testamentary evidence survives there is of course more material. These are the sources which provide this view of the rural priest.

The first consideration is of course the religious attitudes of these sixteenth and early seventeenth century priests. It is perhaps a truism to say that Christian sincerity would automatically be expected of them; but there are, among the mightier clergy of this period, enough well-documented instances of men for whom secular interests and attitudes took pride of place to make it clear that the expectation and the actuality are sometimes poles apart. However, among these rural clerics a simple sincerity of belief does seem to appear, through their own wills, or the wills written by them for others. Robert Moure, vicar of Dovebridge writing his own will in 1572 left his soul:

...to almyghtye god my onelye maker Redemer and Savyor by the meritts of whose passyon I trust verelye and beleve to have the inheritance of hys kyngdome with the fruition of his presents prayenge with Davyd yt he wyll not remember the synnes and offensys of my youthe but to extend hys manyfold mercyes uppon me wretched synner..."

Arthur Blount, vicar of Uttoxeter, was the writer and supervisor of John Eaves' will in 1563, and wrote for him:

"...I bequeath my Sole to the tuytion of Almyghtye god trustynge faythfully by the death and passion of Jhesus Chryste to be fullye redemed from the bondage and thralldom of Satan to the blisse eternall..."

Henry Trickett, vicar of Dovebridge, being a very old man in 1609 had John Alsopp of Uttoxeter to write his will for him, but it is plainly at his own dictation:

"...calling to my remembrance the sainge of Ecclesiasticus who exhorteth evrie man to remember the last daie. And also considering the saying of Saint James the prophett David and Job how short and transitorie this present life, knowinge myself to be of great age, and to be mortall, and going on my journey towards death..."

And Anthony Cope, curate of Hanbury, wrote his own will in 1621

"...surely trustinge by the mercy of my savior Jesus Christes Offeringe for the redemcon of me and all mankinde to have free remision of all my sinnes and offences whatsoever out of the frealtie of nature by me committed..."

One cannot doubt the sincerity and beliefs of these men in the certainty of heaven. Further evidence of their Christian responsibility and duties appears in their attitudes, expressed in their wills, towards the poor of their parishes. Only 14 of the 18 clerics can be considered here, since 3 of the others died intestate, and the 4th. made his will nuncupative and evidently in a hurry. William Freynd, a Uttoxeter chantry priest of very few possessions, left 6s.8d. *'to be bestowed upon pryste, clerkes and pore folkes.'* in 1538. John Bee, another chantry priest of rather more substance, left

"at the daye of my buryall to be delt amongst pryeste, clerkes and other pore people at the discrecons of my executors where they shall thynke most nedefull in money 40s."

Richard Hill, parson of Hanbury in 1609 left 40s. for the poor of Hanbury, 10s. for those of Marchington and 10s. for those of Newborough. He also willed that

"presently as my buryall is past, in the porche of the churche ther be given to the eldest poore 3d. each and to the youngest each 2d...."

William Mowyr, a Marchington chantry priest, left 4d. to every widow in the parish with only 1 cow, and 4d. to every householder with no cattle at all. Sometimes their responsibility towards the underprivileged members of their communities was shown in other ways. Robert Moure left 20s. to *'the bastard by John Houghe syster'* with the additional note that Henry Flackett of Combridge was bound by an obligation, held by the vicar, to pay £3.6.8. to the same child at 21 years of age. John Bee left *'to Feales Bott which is impotent towards hir house rent 3s.'* 11 of the 15 made poor bequests in their wills, and of these, 4 left the residue of their estates,

either entirely or in part, to the poor. John Abell curate of Kingstone left his residue in 1558

"...to the poore people withoutt any parcyallyte fraude or deceyte of my executors as they shall answere before the hye judge when the secrets of all menes harts shalbe opened and examined..."

John Fitzherbert wrote in a similar vein when he instructed his executors to dispose of his residue:

"...most to the glorie of God and the further helpe of my good servant Joane and to the relief of the pore at the oversight and advise of Mr. Doctor Draicott as they will answer before Christ at the fearfull day of the generall judgment."

Robert Moure in 1572 also required his executors to distribute his residue

"...parte to my poore kynsfolkes and parte to other poore people, mariage of poore maydes, high wayes and bridges..."

John Warde of Gratwich 1570 was the other priest who left the residue of his estate to be distributed to the poor.

Their direct involvement in church ceremonial connected with death and life after death is naturally assumed, and a fair amount of interesting evidence survives. Willm. Freynd left an additional 6s.8d. for 4 priests to bring him to church, and asked for '24 tapys and 12 torchys to brenne tyll I be buryd.' A number of lay wills have requests for prayers to be said by specific priests. Richard Munnynge of Uttoxeter asked in 1544 that

"my gostely father Sir Thomas Latwys shall syng 5 masses of the 5 words of our Lord God for my soule and my wyffe soule and all Christen soules."

A Hanbury widow Katheryn Alsop asked in 1547 for a trental of masses

"...the on half of the sayd trentall to be sayd by Sir John Debanke in the church at Hanbury..."

A trental was also requested of John Atkyns, the curate at Newborough, by Humfrey Harrison in 1543.

The view of such duties from the priest's side is clearly expressed in William Mowyr's will in 1541. Although he was a Marchington chantry priest he had strong family connections in Doveridge, and left £4.13.4 to his executors for:

"...a honyst prest to be set in to prey for my father and mother and me and for all ye sollys yt I am bownden to prey for at Dowbrege for a holl yere..."

The prayers were to include every Wednesday a mass of Requiem and Dirige, and each week 3 Lady Sanctuses. John Bee bequeathed

"my best short gowne to a prieste to singe a Trentall at Trinitie Altar in Uttoxeter for my sole and all christen soles."

The 4 priests who made the poor their residual legatees were unmarried, as would be expected. Only 2 of the 19 priests who died leaving wills in the Tudor period were married. They were John Hurt in 1553, and John Russell in 1580. John Hurt's wife survived him, but there is no mention of any children, only a godson. It is possible that he married quite late in life, since married clergy at that date were a fairly recent occurrence. Indeed his will was written *"...in the 6th. yere of Edward VI of the Church of England and Scotland in yerthe immediatli under god the Supreme Headde..."* a reference to the then comparatively recent breakaway from Rome. John Russell was not a young man either. He had been witness to one Kingstone will in 1551, 29 years before his own. He was probably a widower by then, since he does not mention his wife, but he made a bequest to his daughter Jane Russell alias Tixall. She was evidently already married herself. 4 of the 8 priests who died in the Stuart period under consideration were married. One was Michael Henshaw of Hanbury, who died intestate in 1638. A grant of administration was made to his widow, but she renounced it in favour of her brother-in-law William Thornbury, Gent., of Thornbury Hall, to whom was entrusted the care and education of the 3 children, Whiston, Michael, and Catherine. There is a further document of 1648 transferring Whiston Henshaw, then 15 years old, into the care of Ralph Porter of Hanbury. These 3 children also appear as beneficiaries in Katherine Mastergent's will in 1647, so they obviously moved in the best circles. It seems likely that Michael Henshaw was a young man when he died. Anthony Oldam was also vicar of Hanbury in 1614/15 when he died, and he too was likely to have been a young man. His was the nuncupative will. He declared

"...by word of mouth that my brother Nicholas Oldam of Duffield shall have the education of my child and the government of his portion till he come of age according to the law and the oversight of my wife if she will be ruled by him which I trust she will and my minde is that my childe shall have 2 parts of my goodes and I trust my brother will be as a father unto him and rase him as he doth his own..."

Of their literacy generally there can be no doubt. Less than 5% of all the probate documents record possession of books, but 13 of the 18 priests with probate records were known to possess books, over 70%. Virtually nothing is known about the titles of the books owned. John Fitzherbert bequeathed 'a booke called Ludolphe' to Richard Weyn, another priest, in 1551. Curiously, books are not listed at all in his inventory, but he would certainly have owned more than this one. John Hurt of Hanbury asked that 'all mi bokes shalbe disposed to schollars at the sight of Mr. Wells', but for him neither their number, titles, nor value is known, since there is

no inventory surviving. Richard Hill of Hanbury 1609 had books in his Great Chamber valued at £5, and Anthony Oldam's books 6 years later were valued at £6.13.4, and Michael Henshaw's in 1638 at £10. Robert Tompson's books in the study at Dovebridge were worth £13.6.8, and Henry Trickett's 'library' was valued at £2. Even making allowances for the fact that the appraisers must quite frequently have not really had much idea about the cost or value of books, it seems likely that most of these country priests had quite good collections. Even those whose personal effects were of very small value had books. Michael Pinchbeck's books in 1614 were valued at £2.13.4, over half the total inventory value of his effects. It may also be reasonably assumed that all the 63 priests who appeared as witnesses or appraisers to parish wills were capable of reading the document they were witnessing. 13 of them were actually described as the writers of them, and it seems highly likely that many other of the priests were the writers of what they were witnessing, although the fact is not recorded. Thomas Lightfoot, whose incumbency in Uttoxeter lasted beyond the period under consideration here, had a particularly distinctive hand, and was the writer of 8 wills between 1619-1648; in 2 of these he is not mentioned by name. He was involved in 25 wills in some way. In 1631 James Rotheram left

"...to Thomas Lightfoot minister 10s. hoping he will bestow a sermon at my funeral!"

There is an interesting letter from Peter Lightfoot, Thomas's son, concerning the estate of Philip Starkie. It runs:

"Honest Mr. Martyn I hoped to have seene you before now but am prevented I would intreat you to grant to this bearer an administration to Joan Starkie relict of Philip Starkie, he was slaine and soe died intestate, let the Comision be to my father I will see to the Returne of it Soe with my best wishes and my wives I ever rest Your loveinge frend Peter Lightfoot Uttox: this present Munday 4th. Sept. 1648. for tuition there needs nothing for the children are provided for besides the inventorie; for his personall estate was very small!"

It seems not unlikely that Starkie was killed in one of the battles of the Civil War. 3 of the inventories give some indication of the accommodation occupied by the priest, and the way in which it was furnished. The earliest was John Warde of Gratwich, whose 4 roomed shingle roofed house in 1570 comprised the hall, chamber, nether parlour and the entry. In the hall was a table board standing on a frame, a form and 2 benches, a painted cloth, a dishboard, 2 beds and a considerable quantity of bedding, all his books valued at 3s.4d., tablecloths, napkins and towels, 3 yds. of kersey, 6 yds. of say, 6 ells of linen cloth, 4 yds. of 'linninge', 7 silver spoons, all his brass and some ironware, a stone of wool, and his clothes. In the chamber were 2 more beds, a press and a framed chair, a cheese rack, a great coffer, 23 pieces of pewter and 11 counterfeits, broaches, cobirons, landiron, pothooks and chain, fire irons, a frying pan and cresset, bill, axe, hatchet, 2 iron wedges, 2 augers and a wimble. In the nether parlour were painted cloths, a safe, coopery and treen ware, bellows, 2 salt cellars and a chafing dish, 3 chairs and 6 cushions. Finally, in the entry were a great chest, a spinning wheel, a pair of harrows, 3 troughs, 2 kinnells, a tub and a steeping vat. It all sounds rather higgledy-piggledy, and one feels that this elderly bachelor could perhaps have done with more than the 1 servant, Elizabeth Edge, who received 3s.4d. under his will.

Richard Hill of Hanbury lived in a much larger house, of 7 rooms, with at least 2 barns. The rooms were the great chamber, little chamber, buttery, house, kitchen, dairyhouse, and storechamber. The great chamber contained a standing bed with curtains and bedding, a press, a small square table, 3 coffers, 4 buffet stools, a chair, a form, a rug, and all his books. In the little chamber were a bed and its bedding, a cupboard, a little table, a desk, and 2 chairs. In the buttery were a bed and bedding, and everything associated with food preparation, cooking and serving. In the house were a framed table, cupboard, settles, benches, panelling, a glasscupboard, a form, 2 buffet stools, and 8 cushions. In the dairyhouse were milk utensils, cheese vats, 3 spinning wheels, a peck measure, 8 strikes of dredge and 12 of barley, a brewing tub, a churn and other containers, another bed (without bedding), a ladder, a hay tether and a hen roost. The storechamber contained more or less what might be expected, including 11 cheeses, 2 pots of butter, 4 flitches of bacon and 3 strikes of corn. Among the effects outside were a gate, a pigsty, a privyhouse and pail, and a small malt mill. This inventory does convey a good picture of the domestic arrangements of a country parsonage in 1610.

Robert Tompson of Doveridge lived in a larger house still, with 11 rooms, in 1635. His effects were not clearly apportioned to rooms, as were the previous 2 vicars, but the rooms of the dwelling mentioned are the best chamber, study, 2 parlours, 2 lodging chambers, brewhouse, kitchen, dairy, buttery, and storehouse. He was a married man with 11 children, so the vicarage would have seemed quite crowded, for all its extra size.

These are the only 3 inventories which give definite numbers of rooms, but some others imply very small accommodation. Michael Pinchbeck's tells us that there were a cupboard, a frame table, 2 benches, 1 chair, and 'certain stoules' in the house. No other rooms are mentioned, and it is likely that the rest of his rather meagre possessions would have been in an adjoining parlour and that these 2 rooms would have been the whole of his accommodation. No rooms are mentioned in the inventory of William Tull, vicar of Uttoxeter, in 1537/8, but his entire furniture comprised 1 bed with its linen and bedding, a folding table, a chair and a cushion, which

makes it unlikely that his house had more than 2 rooms, and could quite easily have been just one. The same comments serve for William Freynd, the Uttoxeter chantry priest, who died only a few days before the vicar. His only recorded possessions, apart from his clothes, were his bed and the bedclothes. It is quite possible that the 2 men shared the same tiny house, which could have been one of the little chantry cottages which stood at the edge of the churchyard. It is interesting to have even this much information about their houses. There are no Glebe Terriers for any parish in the diocese before 1612, which might have given some detail. Indeed, for all the parishes being considered here except Kingstone, there are none before 1685.

There is a fair amount of information about their clothes in the earlier wills and inventories. The poorest of them all, William Freynd, had 3 ecclesiastical gowns, 2 jackets, 2 shirts, 2 doublets, 2 pr. of hose and 3 caps. William Tull's clothing was similar, but he also had 2 tippets, one of which was of 'old sarsenet'. John Bee was better off, with 4 ecclesiastical gowns and 3 each of all the other items. Neither John Russell's nor John Warde's clothes were itemised separately, but Russell left his best cloth gown to his curate, Christopher Preece, and Warde left his best jacket, doublet, and 2nd. cloak to another priest, Thomas Preston. In 1582 a Marchington yeoman, William Mosley left

"...unto my lovinge frende George Stone minister at Marchington my best shirt band and best cyfies and my russett jersey netherstockes wch my brother Roger gave me".

John Hurt priest of Hanbury 1553 left

"...to Bartholomewe Francis mi chappelen mi best gown of cloth a Jackett of wosted a doblett of damaske and black peticote.."

He left to his principal executor Humfrey Wells Esq. his velvet cloak furred with marten, to his 2nd. executor Henry Milwarde his fustian doublet with velvet sleeves, and to the 3rd. Robert Alcock his damask jacket. These were obviously all items of some quality and worth. His longest bow went to the vicar of Longford. There is no mention of clothes at all in Richard Hill's inventory, but in his will he left to Robert Ash *'...my best jerkyne and my doublett usually worn in my sickness and my longhose togeather with my stockinges last knitt...'*. Although the will does not say it seems probable that Ash was Hill's servant. One of the features of a number of these priests' wills is their solicitude for their servants. It may have been of course the fact that at this early date priests were mostly unmarried men who would have valued their servants as part of their families. Anthony Cope and John Warde made cash bequests to their servants. John Fitzherbert was particularly solicitous. He left

"...to my servant Joane Abel in parte of recompence of her most true and diligent service done to me one coafer and one folden contretable in myne inner parlour a fetherbed a matresse a bolster a pillow of downe a coverlett a blankett one pair of flaxen shetes 1 pr of canvas shetes one of my 4 fyne flaxen shetes a chafer a pottcheyne my best cove and 40s....."

He left his 2nd., 3rd., and 4th. cows, together with various household effects and lesser sums of money, to 3 more of his servants, 2 men and 1 woman. Robert Moure left his 2 principal servants, Cislye Clarke and Robert Pryncep, £10 each. Pryncep was also his executor, for which he received a further £1, and his children received £2 between them. John Hurt left a heifer each to 3 of his servants, 1 man and 2 women, and also a quarter's wages to each maidservant. It does seem likely that most of these servants had had employment of long standing, and also that they were in responsible household positions. It should also be borne in mind that many of these servants in Tudor and early Stuart households were far removed from those Victorian upstairs-downstairs figures with which the term servant tends these days to be associated, often rather disparagingly. They were frequently relations of those in whose service they were, or came from similar social backgrounds. Anthony Cope's 2 servants John Clarke and Katherine Lawrimer for instance, who received cash bequests, were themselves literate persons who were witnesses to his will, each of them signing in a good individual hand.

12 of the 18 priests who left wills or inventories were vicars or parsons of their parishes and they were, with 1 exception, quite well-to-do. The exception was William Tull, the earliest vicar in this study. He was the only one who had no cattle, a sow and 2 pigs being his only livestock. His whole effects were valued at £11.8.6, of which ready money and his 2 gowns accounted for more than half. The remaining vicars were all quite prosperous farmers, and seemed mainly to have had local blood connections. John Hurt was certainly a man of considerable means whose will (there is no inventory) discloses that he had at least 6 ploughoxen, 24 other cattle, and 6 horses, since these are all bequeathed. He left to his wife Joan 10 of his best cows, a bull, 6 oxen with yokes teams and necessities for them to draw, the husbandry ware, a grey mare with a colt, a white gelding, his best silvergilt salt and cover, 12 silver spoons, and £5 in money, as well as plenty of bedding, linen and kitchen effects, all described in detail. His wife's maiden name had probably been Alcock, since he made bequests to 2 brothers-in-law, Robert and Christopher Alcock, and to his sister-in-law Ellen Alcock. The Alcocks were substantial yeoman farmers of Fauld and district (and later became influential money brokers, as noted in an earlier study). The earliest surviving Hanbury will is that of Elizabeth Alcock, proved in 1533/4,

who among her bequests made two to her daughters Joan and Ellen; these 2 were likely to have been John Hurt's wife and her sister. John Fitzherbert was another vicar with blood connections in the area. One of his bequests was

"...to the house of Somersall wher I was borne my best contretable my twoo iron rackes and my twoo great broches to be and remayne ther as heirelomes..."

His inventory has curious discrepancies in that a number of items bequeathed do not appear there, and therefore the complete count of his livestock is not known. But he had 6 ploughoxen, not less than 6 other cows, and 12 pigs, and his effects must have been worth considerably more than the £63.16.0 recorded. Robert Moure, who succeeded him, was also a man of substance. His father Thomas had died in 1538 a prosperous yeoman, whose stock inventory had included 16 ploughoxen, 80 other cattle, 189 sheep, 22 horses, and 14 pigs. Robert, although primarily a priest, also farmed in quite a big way, and at his death had 6 oxen and 2 steers, 13 other cattle, 4 mares and 4 colts, 64 sheep, and 7 pigs. His silver effects were a cup with a cover, a salt, a saucer, and 13 spoons. Three of the beds in the house must have been tester beds, for the inventory records *'9 curtaynes for 3 beds 8s.'* Its total value was £99.2.0. Henry Trickett, whose incumbency extended into James I's reign, had 5 ploughbeasts, 17 other cattle, 18 sheep, 4 horses, 3 pigs, geese and chickens. His principal beneficiary was a nephew from Eccleshall, to whom he bequeathed a house in Branston, with all the lands and rents attaching to it. The last of the Doveridge priests considered here, Robert Tompson, was a farmer and man of property also. His stock comprised 8 ploughoxen, 31 other cattle, horses worth £10, and 6 pigs. He owned 4 houses in Uttoxeter and meadowland there also. His personal estate was valued at £266. John Russell of Kingstone 1580 had 4 ploughoxen, 22 other cattle, 5 horses, 126 sheep, 10 pigs and poultry worth 10s. (about 30 birds). John Warde's inventory was smaller, but still that of a moderately well-to-do farmer, with 2 oxen, 5 cows, a horse, 7 lambs, a sow, 6 geese, and other poultry worth 2s.8d. (about 16 birds) and a hive of bees. The other 3 Hanbury parsons, Hill 1610, Oldam 1615 and Henshaw 1638, had no ploughbeasts but all had quite good cattle stocks.

It is perhaps significant that the only 2 curates for whom there are wills were men with strong family connections in the area. John Abell, the curate at Kingstone, had been overseer to his mother's will in 1536. She had lived at Creighton in Uttoxeter and he also had 3 brothers living close by. The total value of his goods was £17.18.4, not a great sum. His only cattle were 6 ploughbeasts, implying that he was an arable farmer only. Anthony Cope of Hanbury was a man of much more means. His name appears as witness to 6 other wills in the parish, the earliest in 1587, 34 years before his own. He was generally referred to as *'minister'*, but once as *'clarke'* and once as *'curate'*. He had a brother, James, living locally to whom he left

"...everie yeare soe longe as he liveth too strickes of wheat at Michaelmas and too strickes of pease at Candlemas..."

His principal beneficiary was his nephew and godson, also Anthony, who lived at Morton in the parish.

Two of the chantry priests were quite well off, and again it may be significant that they were locally connected. William Bee had brothers living at Rugeley and at Burton-on-Trent who were not clerics. He owned no cattle, his only livestock being 4 hives of bees, but he did own property in the town, since among his bequests were 2 copyholds and a garden (a market garden of sorts presumably). William Mowyr of Marchington was cousin or brother to Thomas Moure the vicar of Doveridge or to his father. His will is of great interest for the amount of detail it reveals concerning his livestock dealings. He left to George Vernon, brother of Thomas Vernon of Houndhill 15s.

"...the wch Mistress Ann Vernon of Stoke she oweth me for I paid it out of my purse in part payment she left unpaid for a mare..."

He also left the same George 22s.

"...the wch Thomas Ashton of Penkrych oweth me for fatware." He left to Joan Holdyn '...my part of 25 sheep that Thomas Bothby has to the half according to the bargain I made with him...' and to her sister Agnes

"...my part of the sheep that Thomas Marston has with the stock according to the bargain I have made with him..."

He left to his nephew William More

"...such stuff as I have of young beefs or els to have 6s.8d. that it lieth to pledge for..."

His stock in all comprised 15 cattle, 22 sheep, and 5 pigs. He had gold and silver worth £3.13.10, and as he bequeathed some items individually, we know what they were. He had 9 silver spoons and a mazer, 2 gold rings, a *'pere of beyddys'* a *'pere of trohe hokes'* (ear-rings?) and *'a yegoll set of sylver'*. These last items of jewellery were left to Joan and Agnes Holdyn, who were his nieces.

William Porter of Doveridge 1597 is in a class by himself, since he was one of those priests known to have lost their livelihoods at the Dissolution of the Abbeys, Chantries and Monasteries in Henry VIII's reign.

His name appears as witness to a Newborough will in 1588, and also in the Dissolution Accounts for Burton Abbey in November 1545 as a Petty Canon receiving a quarter's wages due at Christmas next. He must have been quite an old man by 1597. Only an inventory survives, with a total value of £10.13.7, and he had no livestock of any sort. But he did have books worth 10s., and was the only priest recorded as possessing a musical instrument. He had *'1 chest 2 boxes and clavicords with benches £1'*.

Finally one must consider William Freynd and Michael Pinchbeck, both very poor men but with just enough possessions to make a will or an administration necessary, and with them all those other priests who were presumably too poor to make wills at all. After the death of William Tull in 1538 there is not a single will for a Uttoxeter vicar or curate for the remainder of the period. Marchington has only the 1 chantry priest and Michael Pinchbeck. Newborough has none at all. Kingstone, after John Russell, has only Willm. Linney, who died intestate in 1609 with effects worth only £8.9.2. Gratwich has only John Warde. Bramshall ought to have a will for Thomas Bakewell, its parson from late in Henry VIII's reign until the 1580s. In 1585 Richard Bakewell of Uttoxeter left

"...to Thomas Bakewell my son £6 due unto me by the last will and testament of Sir Thomas Bakewell my brother late parson of Bromshulfe deceased...."

But there is no will recorded in the Calendar at Lichfield. If this will was lost, then it is also possible that other priests' wills may have been lost, but it seems very unlikely. The valuable livings of Hanbury and Doveridge are the only ones which show a succession of priests of substance throughout the period, men whose lifestyles, from the evidence of their wills and inventories, compared favourably with those of the yeoman farmers or wealthier tradesmen who lived in these parishes, and whose wills have certainly survived. The majority of those priests whose names appear in the Appendix following seem likely to have been men struggling to survive on small salaries paid to them as curates, and therefore living hand to mouth existences. It is probable that they were mostly sincere, devout, and caring in their religious and parochial responsibilities, without too much thought for temporal gain, which was perhaps just as well. Treasure in Heaven was their only real expectation.

A consideration of the religious attitudes of the lay population, as seen through their wills, follows naturally after this. Almost every will begins *'In the Name of God Amen,'* and a very large number of them have as well what can only be described as a fairly elaborate religious preamble. A typical example occurs at the beginning of the will of John Greatrakes, the Uttoxeter dyer, who wrote in 1559

"First I commend my soul to Almighty God the father and creator of all things, most humbly beseeching his divine mercy to pardon and forgive me all my offences and wickedness which I acknowledge myself most sinfully to have committed against his highness: and finally through the blood of his son my saviour Jesus Christ to receive the same my soul into his heavenly tabernacle with him to rest for evermore."

John Lovatt, a Marchington yeoman, wrote in 1571

"In the Name of God Amen I John Lovat considereing oftentimes within myself the fragility and uncertainty of this transitory life and that God by this grievous sickness wherewith it hath pleased him to visit me hath warned me as it were by a calling upon me to prepare myself and to take order in my worldly affairs, that I might be ready with speed to follow his will when it shall please him to call me"

John Lyon, a Loxley yeoman, wrote in 1597

"First I stedfastly acknowledge my redemption to proceed from the death and passion of Jesus Christ and renouncing all other merits appeal to the throne of his heavenly grace beseeching him of full forgiveness of all my sins and that he will turn my iniquity from me. I also humbly acknowledge his great goodness in this life towards me in plenteously blessing me beyond my desserts with both children and wealth and I beseech him for his mercy's sake to continue his holy hand over me and my family that they may without contention live together in peace and all occasions of strife be taken from them..."

And lastly, a most elaborate example, that of William Graunger, yeoman, of Coton 1616

"First I commend my soul into the hands of God my creator and maker faithfully believing that for and by the merits and death of Jesus Christ his only son and my only Saviour he will in his mercy pardon and forgive me all my offences and sins and for his sake receive my soul after it shall depart from this mortal body into the glorious and blessed company of all his holy and elect people in heaven there to live with him in perfect felicity and joy for evermore, and in full assuredness of this faith I commit my body to the earth to be buried in the Middle Aisle of the parish church of Hanbury near to the place where my mother and daughter were buried there to be laid up till the general resurrection of all human flesh when as I faithfully believe it shall rise again and shall be reunited to my soul and both together receive a comfortable and joyful resurrection and live in the Kingdom of Glory with god the father god the son and god the holy ghost and all his blessed saints for ever..."

It has been suggested sometimes that these preambles are just formal structures tacked on to the beginning of a will. Certainly the same, or very similar, preambles do occur, but this is not necessarily a

reflection of lack of sincerity on the testator's part; and in any case the greatest number of them are evidently specially composed for the will, and are as individual as each of these examples quoted here. It really cannot be doubted that religion played an important part in all their lives. There are also evidences at these early dates of what would later be called non-conformist tendencies. The doctrine of Election through Grace appears in a number of wills. John Embery of Kingstone 1581 hoped that *'I shall be of the number chosen into his everlasting kingdom'*, and his widow 10 years later also hoped to be *'elected and chosen'*. Their son, also Thomas, in 1637 left a noble to buy a Bible to each of 3 godchildren *'whom I pray Almighty God to bless with all Grace and heavenly endowments'*. William Rotheram a Uttoxeter shoemaker in 1618 hoped to be *'a partaker of the Kingdom of Heaven with the elect children of God'*, and Elizabeth Cowappe, a Kingstone blacksmith's widow hoped in 1606 to be *'one of the elect ministers which shall be chosen at the last day'*.

There are also many bequests to the churches themselves. Most frequently they are simple money bequests, with no conditions attached, but occasionally they are more specific. Alice Wetton 1540 left 3s.4d. to buy a cross for Bramshall church. Richard Mawe's bequest to buy a Bible for Gratwich church has already been noted. Hugh Netam 1601 also left money for a Bible at Kingstone, as well as money for a Chest for the parishioners' use, to be engraved with his name. This chest has survived to this day. Ellen Wright 1543 left 20s. towards *'mending the bells'* at Kingstone; Robert Norman of Caverswall in Lower Loxley left 20d. towards the repair of Gratwich church. The fabric of the old Marchington church must have been in a pretty desperate condition in the middle years of the sixteenth century, for there are quite a lot of specific bequests. 3 between 1539-45 were to *'build the steeple'*. It may have been a new one, but was more likely to have been repairs to an old one. In 1560 Bernard Whitton left 3s.4d. *'to the church side of Marchington when they do make it done'*. Richard Walton in 1566 left *'to the chapel of Marchington 20s. it to be paid when the wall that is now broken is one foot above the earth'*, and Ellen Mabeley the following year left 12d. *'to the church when they start the repairs'*. It sounds as though one of the church walls had been in a ruinous condition for at least 7 years. It was another 200 years before this church was finally demolished and rebuilt, in 1743.

Among the pre-dissolution wills are quite a number with bequests for trentals of masses to be said. Richard Munnings of Uttoxeter 1544 said *'also I will have an Dirige solemn done with all the priests and they belonging to our church'*. Thomas Degge 1537 left money for a trental of masses at Uttoxeter church, 12d. to Croxden Abbey for prayers for his and his wife's souls, and 2d. each to the Greyfriars and Blackfriars at Stafford to pray for him also. Much of this attitude was a survival of medieval thinking, that the more people prayed for you the better for you. Quite a lot of poor bequests were made to be distributed to those attending the funeral, and these too are manifestations of that thinking. Medieval too was the concept of a wake, of which there is evidence from time to time. Agnes Tinker of Uttoxeter 1550 wrote

"At the day of my burial there shall be no dinner but a drinking had with 12d. in beef and bread thereto.."

And Walter Cresswell of Hanbury 1551 asked for a dinner to be made for his friends, relations, and near neighbours after his funeral. Occasionally the individual constituents of the funeral are itemised and priced. The inventory of Margery Lampley of Uttoxeter 1587 records

"And for her funeral charge from John Lyon as followeth Imprimis for the priest and clark 10d. Item to the ringers and bellman for making the grave 8d. Item for bread, drink, and candlelight 4s. Item to the writer herof 4d. Item Pd. by her keeper for spices and other necessities 5d. Item to John Walters wife for drink in her sickness 4d. Sum 6s.6d."

In 1641 Katherine Falconer's funeral at Dovebridge cost

"for bread and candles 7s.3d., for ale 5s., for her burial 1s.4d., to the ringers 2s., for cheese 8s., for milk 1s.8d. Sum £1.5.6."

Joan Bothbie of Marchington, the mother of the substantial mercer of Uttoxeter noted in the Study on Tradesmen, had the much more expensive funeral charges of 40s., not itemised unfortunately, but also recorded are *'for one ox herriot £3.13.4, for her mortuary 3s.4d., and to the church for her burial 3s.4d.'* At a much humbler level was Elizabeth Knowles of Uttoxeter, who in 1593 *'at her decease to be honestly brought home cost us 9s.'*

A further aspect of their religious attitudes appears in their concern for the poor. Care of the poor was considered a Christian duty in medieval times, and it is apparent that this thinking persisted for much of this period, although there are less poor bequests towards the end. Obviously intestacies cannot be considered in a % count here, since no testamentary wishes are recorded, but of the 731 actual wills being considered, 154 have poor bequests, just over 21%. The greatest number of these are quite simply gifts of money, ranging from John Eaves *'12d. to the poor mans box'* at Hanbury in 1563 to Mary Mynors gift of £10 for the Uttoxeter poor in 1578. However not all these one off bequests were of money. Some of them specify bread. James Thyrell left 4d. or 4d. worth of bread to every poor Marchington householder in 1551. Thomas Telior left 1 bushel of wheat

to be made into 1d. loaves for the Uttoxeter poor in 1571 and John Ford left *'pence apiece in bread'* for the Newborough poor in 1597. William Walker left $\frac{1}{2}$ strike of peas to each of the poor of his hamlet of Stubby Lane in 1616, and Christopher Roe, also of Stubby Lane, left a peck of wheat and a peck of barley to every poor householder there in 1647. Sometimes particular categories of poor person were specified, most commonly widows, but Helenor Whittington, as well as leaving 15 groats to 15 poor folk of her parish of Newborough in 1610 also left *'to 4 poor men appointed ringers 8d'*. Arthur Nedham left 6s.8d. each to the marriages of 7 poor maids in Kingstone in 1571, Francis Poole of Newborough left *'to Ellin a poor orphan child I took up a calf and a lamb to go forward for her'* in 1612, and Richard Robotham of Marchington left 4d. each to 6 poorest widows and 2d. each to the children of lame Grimshaw. 3 lay testators left the residues of their estates to the poor. None of them was very large. 2 were just over £8 each, and the 3rd. and smallest was that of Hugh Wolley, whose residue of £2.13.4 was to be invested and its income in 1569

"to be distributed unto the poorest people of the parish of Uttoxeter at 2 times in the year that is at All Souls Day 2s. in bread and upon Good Friday other 2s. in bread and so to continue from year to year."

Some bequests were made to continue for more than one year, but for a limited time. 3 were for 2 years only. Another, that of Henry Gilbert of Marchington Woodlands, was for 10 years, starting in 1641, of £10 to be distributed annually in equal portions. Humfrey Hill of Draycott 1571 left 12d. per annum for the lives of his wife and his son Robert. William Chedleton of Uttoxeter left 3s.4d. per annum in bread out of his house rent for the term of years unexpired. This was one of several such bequests bounded by lease. It is of course the bequests in perpetuity which are generally to be seen on Benefaction Boards in churches today. There are 20 of these. Thomas Bothbie of Marchington 1584 left the income from 40s. invested to be distributed to the poor every Good Friday *'to the worlds end'*. William Poker of Uttoxeter 1631 left the income from a close called the Quitch to provide yearly, for ever, 12 3d. loaves for the poor of Uttoxeter Woodlands, the same for those of Marchington, and as many 2d. loaves for the poor of Uttoxeter Town as the rest of the income would provide. Katherine Mastergent, apart from the well-known gift of the almshouses, also left £3.6.8. per annum to provide 3 gowns for 3 poor widows, starting in 1647. 2 years later Robert Gilbert, also of Uttoxeter, left 20s. per annum for ever out of the income from his house to provide shoes for old and impotent people. Bequests were frequently made to be given at the funeral. As already noted, this almost certainly stems from the ancient belief that the more people prayed for you, the better for you. A number of the earliest bequests leave money for the priest or priests *'to perform'* and other money for the poor *'to perform'*. William Graunger's bequest of £10 in 1616 *'to the poor of the parish of Hanbury and such other poor and needy people present at my funeral'* would almost certainly have attracted poor from neighbouring villages and guaranteed a large mourning congregation. William Boynton of Hanbury 1580 left 3s.4d. to the poor of Hanbury and Hanbury Woodend to be distributed at the church *'whereby the said poor may give God praise and thanks for moving me hereunto'*, which may sound pompous and condescending to modern ears, but does nevertheless give a little insight into the sixteenth century religious mind.

The actual numbers of poor in any one of the parishes at any given time is simply not known. It is likely to have fluctuated considerably depending on the season of the year, the weather, and the harvests. There is just one will in the whole series which is really revealing in this respect. In 1600 Edward Rushton of Kingstone left

"to the poorest sort of the town, namely John Fox the elder, Elizabeth Hodgeson, Margery Tomson, and Edward Rodes, 6d. each at my decease."

This is a very small number. While it is a fairly well documented fact that the numbers of poor in larger towns had risen quite considerably by the middle of the seventeenth century and continued to rise thereafter, it may well have been that the numbers of poor in the rural areas around Uttoxeter were for much of the time not very large at all, and it does in any case seem almost certain that the combination of private benefaction and compulsory levies made under later Tudor legislation were sufficient to provide for them. Christopher Roe's peck each of wheat and barley, obviously to provide bread and beer, those 2 staples of diet at that time, to the poor of Stubby Lane, could not have envisaged a large number of recipients. Nor was Matthew Roe's bequest of 4d. to every poor widow in Draycott and Stubby Lane likely to have been made with a large number of beneficiaries in mind.

What is very evident in virtually all these poor bequests is the intention to benefit the poor of one's own town, or village, or even hamlet. The £10 Graunger bequest mentioned above is a notable exception. Apart from him, the only exceptions are those occasional ones where the benefactor evidently came originally from somewhere else. In 1627 for instance William Crisp of Uttoxeter left 6s.8d. to the poor of Austrey, and Henry Partridge 1638 left 40s. to the poor of W.Bromwich. Also one or two of the wealthiest benefactors who owned land in several parishes made bequests to the poor of each. John Leigh of Dovebridge 1560 was one such man, leaving 10s. to the poor of Egginton, 6s.8d. each to Uttoxeter, Dovebridge, Tutbury and Sudbury, 5s. to

Marchington, and 3s.4d. each to Somersall, Hatton, Marston, and Hilton. One can be fairly certain that the amounts of his benefactions related to the size of his holdings in each of these parishes. But for the most part these 16th. and early 17th. century folk were concerned for their own poor, most frequently those really closest to them. William Allen of Draycott 1593 left 6s.8d. 'to the poorest sort in Dracott and this side of the parish'. John Farrall of Hanbury 1638 left 10s. to the poor of Woodend at his funeral. Cuthbert Pallin of Draycott 1591 left money invested to produce 4s. per annum for the poorest of the parish, especially Draycott 'where I was born and had most of my living', and Agnes Netam of Kingstone 1589 left 20s. 'to the poorest sort of my neighbors'. Robert Coxe of Uttoxeter 1624 was very specific too, leaving 40s. for distribution twice yearly at B.V.M. and Michaelmas to poor folk born in and still living in Uttoxeter. This inward looking tendency is of course very typical of small town, village, and hamlet communities, and persists in some degree to this day. It was also very laudable but it did create problems later, particularly in the 18th. century, when there were far more 'foreigners' travelling about, often quite genuinely looking for work, who were putting great strains on a benefit system which had worked very well for many rural societies for several hundred years. This particular problem is the subject of the Study in Settlement and Removal in this series.

Appendix.

Priests whose names appear in Wills. 1534-1650.

The names of those priests whose own wills or inventories survive are underlined. Those with an asterisk were probably not serving priests in the parishes where their names appear.

Parish.	Name.	Priestly title in will.	No. of wills.	Earliest and latest dates.
Uttoxeter	Thomas Coton	Ghostly father	2	1534-43
	<u>William Freynd</u>	Chantry priest	6	1534-38
	Edward Carles	Chantry priest	3	1534-39
	<u>William Tull</u>	Vicar	1	1537/8
	John Tull	Sir *	1	1537/8
	John Peek	Clerk *	1	1537/8.
	<u>John Bee</u>	Chantry Priest	2	1537-55
	John Hey	Chantry Priest	1	1539
	William Stevenson	Parish priest	1	1543
	Thomas Latwis	Ghostly father	4	1543-44
	Thos. Hemsworth	Vicar and Curate	11	1549-54
	Nicholas Lothe	Minister	1	1550
	Nicholas Harvar	Vicar	4	1554-56
	George Hilton	Vicar and Curate	4	1559-59
	Humfrey More	Vicar	1	1560/1
Hanbury	Arthur Blount	Vicar	2	1562-63
	Thomas Barnes	Vicar	12	1567-9
	Nicholas Bowyer	Curate	1	1616
	Thomas Lightfoot	Vicar	25	1619-48
	Ralph Cooke	Curate (1)	1	1534
	Humfrey Huntbach	Sir *	1	1536
	John Debanke	Sir	2	1536-47
	Henry Lort	Curate and vicar	8	1538-66
	Bartholomew Francis	Chaplain and curate	13	1538-54
	<u>John Hurt</u>	Parson	2	1551 - 52
	Robert Debanke	Clerk	1	1559
	John Payne	Vicar	9	1571-82
	Ralph Lompe	Sir *	1	1576
	<u>Anthony Cope</u>	Minister and curate	7	1587 - 1621
	Brian Exton	Vicar	1	1591
	John Bromley	Curate	2	1600
	<u>Richard Hill</u>	Vicar	5	1604 - 9/10
	John Debanke	Clerk *	2	1611 - 25
	<u>Anthony Oldam</u>	Vicar	1	1614/15

<i>Parish.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Priestly title in will.</i>	<i>No. of wills.</i>	<i>Earliest and latest dates</i>
Hanbury	<u>Michael Henshaw</u>	Vicar	2	1637-38
(continued)	John Presbury	Curate	1	1644
Marchington	William Nall	Priest	1	1539
	<u>William Mowyr</u>	Chantry Priest	2	1538/9 - 41
	Richard Russheson	Curate	12	1558-66
	Thomas Stubbings	Curate (2)	5	1572-1601
	George Stone	Curate (2)	4	1579-1608
	Roger Hughes	Curate	4	1573
	Roger Bolton	Minister	1	1607
	----- Bagnold	Clerk	1	1609/10
	<u>Michael Pinchbeck</u>	Clerk *	1	1614
	Jeremy Morrell	Clerk	4	1617-24
	William Bass	Minister	2	1631-33
Newborough	Leonard Booden	Priest	1	1543
	John Atkyns	Chaplain	3	1543-54
	William Smythe	Priest	2	1547-50
	Robert Allen	Clerk	1	1574-5
	Oliver June	Clerk	1	1577
	William Porter	Clerk (4)	1	1588
	Thomas Eccles	Curate	3	1592
	Jeffery Jones	Clerk	1	1601
	Francis Lee	Curate	1	1633/4
Kingstone	<u>John Abell</u>	Curate	7	1536-58.
	John Hare	Priest *	1	1543
	<u>John Russell</u>	Parson	8	1551-80
	Richard Weyn	Priest (5)	3	1558-59
	John Russheton	Clerk	1	1559
	Richard Cartwright	Clerk	1	1571
	Christopher Preece	Curate	1	1580
	Thomas Bolton	Curate and Rector	2	1597-98
	<u>William Lynney</u>	Curate	4	1600-09
Gratwich	<u>John Warde</u>	Parson	2	1553-70
	Thomas Preston	Clerk *	1	1570
	Thomas Fisher	Clerk	1	1610
Bramshall	Thomas Bakewell	Parson	7	1537-85
	Thomas Kay or Key	Vicar (6)	7	1608-35
Doveridge	Richard Holme	Curate/Chantry priest	11	1538-53
	<u>John Fitzherbert</u>	Vicar	2	1538-51
	Ralph Corke	Priest	1	1543
	Robert Cundlyff	Priest	3	1547-53
	<u>Robert Moure</u>	Vicar	5	1553-72
	William Syddeley	Curate	1	1570
	John Greme	Curate	1	1572
	<u>Henry Trickett</u>	Vicar	2	1585-1609
	<u>William Porter</u>	Clerk * (4)	1	1597
	<u>Robert Tompson</u>	Vicar	6	1611-35
	George Glen	Vicar	3	1639-44

Notes.

1. The Ralph Cooke of Hanbury and Ralph Corke of Doveridge may well be the same man. It is worth noting also that Ralph Corke was a signatory to the Deed of Surrender for Rochester Priory in 1545.
2. Although he witnessed 2 Marchington wills and 3 Doveridge ones he may never have been curate in either place. In the 1572 will he was 'curate of Somersall'.
3. He certainly was curate of Marchington at first. But in 1608 Mary Slaney left £2 to 'Mr. Stone vicar of Bromley Pagetts', so it seems he moved on to a better living.
4. He appears in both Newborough and Doveridge, and is probably the same man. The Dissolution Accounts for Burton Abbey in 1545 record him as a Petty Canon receiving 50s. as a quarter's wages.
5. He was a beneficiary of John Abell, Agnes Russell mother of John Russell, and John Fitzherbert, so obviously had connections in Kingstone, Uttoxeter and Doveridge, and cannot with certainty be attached to any of them.
6. There is never a reference to his clerical status in any of the 7 wills he witnessed, 1 of which he wrote.

STUDY 5. FAMILY ATTITUDES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, LITERACY, CLOTHING. 1530-1650.

There is a fair amount of evidence in the wills from this period about the relationships which existed between husbands and wives. It is often imagined that, in those far-off days when women in marriage had no property rights at all, their condition was little more than slavery. From the evidence which appears, nothing could be farther from the truth. Of those men whose wives were still living when they made their wills, more than one third nominated her as sole executor, a further one quarter nominated her jointly with a son or daughter, and a further sixth nominated her jointly with some other person. In other words, more than three quarters of all those men entrusted their wives with the responsibility of seeing their wishes carried out. In half of the remainder, the wishes of the testator are not known. The remaining 12% approximately divide into two categories. In the first come men whose wives were almost certainly aged and sometimes infirm of mind and so not really capable of executorship. In the second come wives who were second or third wives, sometimes evidently younger than the husband's eldest child, possibly not occupying the same position in the husband's affections, or in the family hierarchy, as the first wife would have done. However, there are still a small number left in which the wife is viewed at best negatively or suspiciously, and at worst as untrustworthy or worthless. These wills are so few as to be worth quoting.

In 1627 William Crisp of Uttoxeter made bequests of over £130 to various persons, but left only 6s.8d. to his wife, without actually naming her, and made his brother his executor. In 1555 Robert Hodgeson of Loxley made his wife and the parson of Hamstall Ridware his executors, but also noted that

".....Sir Thomas Fitzherbert shall have the oversight of my wife in the ordinance of my children and if she do not as an honest woman should do against her children I wyll Sir Thomas Fitzherbert shall order my lands and goods at his discretion...."

In 1561 Humfrey Hill of Uttoxeter left one third part of his goods to his wife Gillyan, 'according to the laws and ordinances of the Realm' but left the residue to his mother and his brother William

"...to the use and bringing up of my child and will and very mind is that my sayd mother and brother shall have the governaunce and bringing up of my child...."

For some reason which will never be known he did not trust his wife in this matter. In 1645 Robert Towers of Marchington Woodlands left

"...unto Essabel my wife £20 provided she keep my name and do suffer my son William Towers peaceably and quietly to enjoy and hold all my lands and tenements which if she refuse to do then she shall have but £10...."

The suspicion is that here was a sharp-tongued woman who didn't see eye to eye with her son, or possibly her stepson. And lastly was Thomas Dudley, whose graphic and entertaining nuncupative will was quoted in full in the Study on Tradesmen. These are the few exceptions.

For the rest, not merely is the wife nearly always an executor, but is very often referred to in terms indicating that she was her husband's best trusted friend and helpmate. There are so many examples that they hardly have to be looked for. A few instances are quoted here. William Ball Stramshall 1610

"I leave and make my wife Maud Ball my sole executrix of this my last will and testament, and leave my childrens portions in her hands.."

Robert Barton Kingstone 1638

"Betteridge my beloved wife shall have all my lands and grounds and houses and barns and all my goods and chattells for the relief and maintenance of herself and the honest and fitting education and bringing up of my dear children..."

Thomas Alcock Hanbury 1604

"I do make Elizabeth my wife full Tutrix and guardian of all my children during their minorities and to her do fully commit the education government and rule of them..."

In such cases as these it is apparent that the children are minors, and the wife also likely to have been a fairly young woman, so there is often a conditional clause limiting the wife to one third of the goods if she should remarry, with the residue divided among the children, or reserved for them on attaining their majorities. In cases where it is clear that the testator and his wife are elderly, and the children adults, different but no less affectionate clauses appear. So Robert Archer wrote

"I desire my son Thomas to be overseer of these things and be careful of his mother when I am gone. Further I do also desire my loving wife that as I have left her all to help her with in her old age so she will be a good mother unto them all and do the most for them that are the most dutiful to her..."

and in 1624 Joseph Wakefield of Uttoxeter wrote

"So desiring all my children that they may show their duties unto their mother and love one another as they ought to do beseeching God to bless you all Amen."

In wills where the husband is already elderly, evidence of their affection for their wives appears constantly. James Halsey of Dovebridge 1545 asked to be buried '*nigh unto my dear wifes seat*', and Clement Alcock of Hanbury 1605 '*as near unto my wifes seat as may be*'. Widowers and widows very frequently asked to be buried next to their late husband or wife. Mary Slaney of Thorney Lanes 1608 asked to be

"Nigh unto the place where my husband James Slaney was buried with a gravestone of Alabaster having the pictures of my husband and myself set thereupon, as the manner is..." (There is an unidentified alabaster in Hanbury church of a Tudor couple in relief which could well be James and Mary Slaney.)

Sometimes provision for children was made in a general way, as appeared just now, but frequently specific sums were left to individual children at certain ages, most often 21, but 16, 24 and 30 all occur. Sometimes bequests were made to be paid at fixed intervals after the death of the testator, often to be funded by income from the land rather than from the capital value of assets left. A man's lands for example were frequently left, after the death of his widow to his eldest son, who then had to pay at 2, 3, or 4 yearly intervals fixed sums to each of his siblings in turn as their portion. Very often a cow or a heifer or calf, or a ewe, or ewe and lamb, were left 'to go forward', this particularly for younger children or grandchildren. Another frequently occurring condition concerned daughters marrying with the consent of their mothers, or brothers, or kinsfolk. This was mentioned briefly in the Study on Tradesmen. Anthony Cope the Hanbury cleric noted in his will regarding a bequest to his niece Joan Cope that

"...she should have that £50 paid to her within a year or some more after the confirmation of her marriage so that she marry by the consent and liking of her brothers..."

It seems likely that she might have had difficulty in getting this quite substantial bequest if she attempted to marry someone unsuitable in the eyes of her kinsfolk. There was not even a suspicion of difficulty for John Budworth's daughter in 1629. He wrote

"To my daughter Elizabeth Budworth £50 if she marry with the consent of her mother and brothers, otherwise 3s.4d..."

While this sort of clause inevitably conjures up pictures of unfortunates like Samuel Richardson's 'Clarissa Harlowe', a fictional character, but undoubtedly based on factual observation, one must also remember such real life people as Adam Eyre who, while pointing out to his daughter the benefits which would arise from his proposed economically advantageous marriage arranged for her, finally accepted her adamant refusal, and the less suitable (in his opinion) candidate for her hand.

Concern for children who obviously had special needs appears sometimes. Joan More of Uttoxeter 1559 left £10 to her daughter Elizabeth, but the £10 was to remain with her eldest son William, to '*keep and cherish her as well in sickness as in health during her natural life*'. When William himself died 21 years later in 1580 he entrusted the keeping of his sister Elizabeth to his wife Gillian '*trusting that she will be well used*'. Elizabeth must have been either mentally or physically incapable of looking after herself.

Although wills very often speak of 'education' for children still in their minorities, there is very rarely mention of any schools. Uttoxeter is known to have had a school, founded by Thomas Alleyne, from 1558 onwards, but there is virtually no surviving evidence about how it functioned until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The name of only one sixteenth century master is known for certain, that of Thomas Pindar the fishmonger, noted in the Study on Tradesmen. In his petition for his salary to the Privy Council in 1567 he said that there were 80 boys at the school at that date. There is one sixteenth century will which records a bequest to the school, that of Lewis Walker of Uttoxeter in 1577. It was for

"...30s. of lawfull Englysshe money for my executors and overseers to bestowe upon a booke called Cowpers dyxsonarey and after the same boke by them hadd and bought I will hytt shall Remyne Contynewe and be to the free scole of Uttoxeter forsayd for ever for the better attayninge of knowledge and lerninge of the scollers wch shall come ther to be taught..."

Cooper's Dictionary was principally a Latin-English one, with a section at the end devoted to famous people from antiquity, both mythical and historical. It was first printed in 1565 and was very popular, being reprinted in 1573, 1578, and 1584. So it is certain that scholars at the school were well versed in Latin. How long the school kept its copy of the dictionary is not known, but it is certainly not there now. The only other sixteenth century schoolmaster for whom any probate information survives was Richard Yorke, who died in 1593 in Uttoxeter. He died intestate, a man of very small means, and his inventory throws no light on him as a schoolmaster. He may not have been the Master at the Free School, although it seems quite likely that he was. Information about the school for the first half of the seventeenth century is equally sparse. The long series of Subscription Books, 47 in all, preserved at LJRO which record the names of those subscribing to the 39 Articles of Religion and the Act of Supremacy upon their appointments as priests, deacons, and occasionally as schoolmasters, do record the Subscription of Lawrence Dawson on his admission to teach at the Free School in Uttoxeter on 21st. December 1621, and again on his admission as Deacon on 19th. September 1624. He was

probably curate at Uttoxeter from that date until 1653 when Thomas Lightfoot, who had been vicar since 1617, died. From 1653 until his own death in 1658 Dawson himself was vicar. It does seem likely therefore that he was the Master there for the whole period 1621-58. During this time there was one more bequest made, this by Robert Hodgson of Uttoxeter Woodlands in 1631. He left 4d. each to 15 of the poorest scholars of the school, so it seems that the school must have catered for some of the children of poorer people.

There is fragmentary evidence for the existence of schools in both Kingstone and Doveridge also. Hugh Netam of Kingstone in 1601 bequeathed

"unto every scoller that shall fortune to gooe to Scowle at Kingstone at the day of my funerall 2d...."

and 3 years earlier Richard Reade, also of Kingstone, had left £3 to his son Edward with the proviso *"...and to keepe him to the schoole 3 yeares and then the sayd money to be paid to him...."*

Richard Pretty, a Dovebridge yeoman 1632, left a trust of £10 to be administered by Robert Tompson the vicar there, and Thomas Lightfoot, the vicar of Uttoxeter, so that the interest from it should be used to keep children of people of 'the poorest sort' in Dovebridge at school. This may have referred to a village school in Doveridge, but of course may have referred to the Alleyne foundation in Uttoxeter, since Thomas Lightfoot was one of the trustees. The 4d. doles left by Robert Hodgson were to be paid 'at the discretion of Thomas Lightfoot and Lawrence Dawson'. What is quite likely is that the existence of the village schools was of a more ephemeral nature, depending on the conscientiousness of the priest of the parish at any given time.

There is no evidence in the wills for the existence of schools in any of the other parishes, although they may well have been there, at least from time to time. It is quite clear throughout the period that there were residents in all the parishes, and not just the clerics, who could read and write, and they had all been taught somewhere. The most likely places would have been local schools. Education would have been of the most basic kind, learning to read, to write, and to cast accounts. Such skills were really necessary for anyone engaging in almost any sort of trading activity. Although it was noted in the Study on Priests that the percentage of testators among lay folk owning books was very small, it is certain that there were many more who were able to read, and of those many who could and did write. Quite a number of yeomen in the rural parishes, and tradesmen in Uttoxeter itself, habitually wrote wills for their friends or neighbours, since they signed themselves as 'Scriptor', and the signatures of many local folk appear on wills and inventories as testators, witnesses, and appraisers across the whole period in all the parishes.

The only recorded lay possessor of books prior to 1600 was Humfry Minors in 1544 but they were not valued separately from other goods, so nothing is known of their titles, numbers, or value. Between 1600-50 there are 28 known lay owners. Most of these are simply itemised as 'books' followed by a value. In 10 of them there was known to have been a Bible among them. In only one are other books named. Toby Budworth of Stubby Lane 1622/3 had, as well as an old Church Bible, a Beza Testament in quarto and a copy of the Commonplaces of Musculus. This was a book of religious homilies; it is quite likely that a fair number of the books owned would have been of this type, but this is just a speculation. There is one layman who sounds as though he may have had quite a decent library. He was Hugh Gray of Uttoxeter. At the end of his inventory in 1621 is noted

"...for bookes in his study being unknowen to us prayrsers in that Mr. Edward Minors doth make clayme for bookes of his to be ther to the valew of £5 wch wee doe esteeme to be more than all the bookes are worth...."

But no details or valuation are given. As noted earlier, it does seem likely that very often appraisers simply had no real idea of the cost or possible value of the individual items of a collection, other than the Bible itself. Clair Cross, in an essay on the incomes of provincial clergy at this date, quotes only 3 men with known numbers of books. John Walkwood of Stamford 1575 had 60 great books, 20 lesser, and 20 yet smaller valued in all at £15. John Mossey, also of Stamford 1587 had 32 books, plus 'some little ones' but all these were valued at only £1. William Morton, the archdeacon of Durham and vicar of Easington and Newcastle-on-Tyne had a great library of 2500 books valued at £300 in 1620. The only conclusions one can draw from these figures are that firstly, appraisers gave widely differing values for books, and secondly, that they were not likely to value books at more than, say, 5s. each and probably not less than 2d. each. It has already been noted that Lewis Walker left 30s. for the purchase of Cooper's Dictionary in 1577, so presumably he knew that, new, it would cost that or very close to that. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that new books, especially very large ones like this dictionary, were very much more expensive than secondhand books being valued for probate. This would certainly be true today, and may well have been just as true 300 or 400 years ago. Among the Uttoxeter and district inventories are 2 which value the Bible separately. That of Thomas Smith 1612 values it at 6s., and that of Anthony Basford has 2 old ones at 2s.6d. each in 1637. Such valuations are really of little help in trying to assess how many books some of these testators actually owned. Thomas Coke's books were valued at £2.10.0 in 1648, Henry Gilbert's at 9s.1d. in 1641, and William Holbrooke's at 13s.4d. in 1642. These 3 men were all

Marchington Woodlands yeomen. (It is worth noting here that this last man's son Thomas, who died in 1668 just outside the end of this period, had books '*in Latin and English*' worth £1.13.4., some of which would certainly have been inherited from his father.) George Durose, a Dovebridge yeoman, had 15s.worth of books, and Thomas Waite, the Keeper of Marchington Ward of Needwood Forest, had 6s.8d. worth in 1640. Simon Whitehall of Kingstone, as well as 6s.8d.worth of books, had 15 quire of paper valued at 3s.9d. in 1630. It does seem likely that all these men probably owned quite nice little collections of books, perhaps anything from 10-20 volumes. That of Hugh Gray was almost certainly larger, and those of the clergy probably larger still. Mary Tompson, the widow of the vicar of Doveridge, had £10 worth of books when she died in 1640. She willed that half of them should go to her son Robert, and the other half should be divided between her other 2 sons Henry and William, and that 3 scholars chosen '*indifferently*' by the 3 sons should make the apportionment. On the basis of the valuations cited by Clair Cross, this collection could well have comprised 50-60 volumes.

Last of all, and a most interesting product of the study of all these wills and inventories, is quite a lot of information about clothes. Almost all the inventories include a value for the deceased person's clothing, but most frequently it is just '*his/her apparel*' or '*purse and apparel*'. However there are 20 inventories, mostly pre-Elizabethan, in which the man's or woman's clothing is itemised and valued separately, and another 59 wills in which specific items of clothing were bequeathed, often quite well described, and these are spread right across the period.

They are probably best considered in 3 groups, pre-Elizabethan, Elizabethan, and Stuart, since fashion in clothing did change quite a lot between 1530 and 1650. Uttoxeter may be quite a long way from London, the centre for fashion then as now, but as these Studies have shown, there was constant contact with London, by merchants and carriers at least, and it is hard to believe that some sartorial influences would not have filtered through. It should also be remembered that items of clothing bequeathed were often the best clothes, and therefore possibly the most fashionable.

The earliest information of all is quite remarkable, indeed, it is unique in this collection. It comes in the 1533 inventory of Thomas Dyckynson of Uttoxeter. This is a document in very poor condition, very fragile and with fragments missing and barely readable in places; but included in it are '*a gown of silver and gold (missing)..... enamell price £3*', '*a furred gown price 26s.8d.*' and '*a jacket of kyng harrys gyffing 53s*'. These were very unusual and valuable items of what may have been ceremonial regalia used by him in some official capacity. The will of Edward Percival in 1559 records money owed to him by Thomas Dickinson Bailiff of Uttoxeter, and it could well have been that this was an hereditary office and that the Thomas Dyckynson who died 26 years earlier was also the Bailiff there.

Two of the earliest complete men's wardrobes are worth looking at. In 1543 Humfrey Harrison of Newborough had 2 coats, 6s.8d., 2 pr.hose 2s., 2 shirts 2s., 1 flaxen doublet 8d., 1 cape 8d., shoes 12d. In 1557 Thomas Vernon of Houndhill had '*his raiment 2 gowns 2 coats 2 pr. hose 1 jerkin 1 cloak 1 doublet 1 cap 1 velvet hat 4 marks*'. He was of course a gentleman. His velvet hat was evidence of this. However his wardrobe was not very extensive, but no doubt of good quality. Harrison's 8 items with the shoes were worth 13s., compared with £2.13.4 for the 11 items of Thomas Vernon. The doublet was a close fitting body garment, with or without sleeves, and worn with hose made a complete outfit for a man. A coat, cloak, or cape, was additionally necessary, for outdoor or colder weather conditions. The cape was a shorter overgarment attached around the neck by points, which were laces made of various materials, usually bound and tagged at the ends. Points were also used to attach sleeves to doublets, or to the bodices of ladies' dresses. Pre-Elizabethan items of male clothing more specifically described in bequests are a buckskin doublet and green jacket (Robt.Smith Marchington 1545), a canvas doublet (Thos.Pickforke Uttoxeter Woodlands 1554), a fleece jacket and a sendall jacket (Edward Bott Uttoxeter 1552), a bonnet (John Hinckley Hanbury 1543), and a white kersey petticoat (Ralph Hill Uttoxeter 1558). The fine items in the wardrobe of John Hurt the Hanbury priest were noted in that Study. Sendall is according to OED a rich thin silk-like material; male petticoats at this date were more likely to have been short coats in the old sense of the word.

There are 3 fine inventories of women's clothing from this early period also. Anne Redyman of Uttoxeter 1541 had a black gown, a white petticoat, 3 kerchiefs and a pinner, 3 aprons, an old black coat, hose, 2 pr.of shoes, a hat, and a cap, valued in all at 6s. A pinner at this date, according to OED was a coif with 2 white sidepieces sometimes long and pinned at the breast, and usually worn by ladies of quality. Anne Ryste of Hanbury 1542 had 2 gowns, 2 caps, 2 smocks, 3 aprons, an old kirtle, 4 kerchiefs, a purse and a girdle. Gowns at this date were likely to have been of a type fastened down to the waist, and then open to display an underskirt of some sort. Aprons at this date were generally of full length over the gown, and smocks were everyday dresses. Kerchiefs were scarves not handkerchiefs in the modern sense. A kirtle by this date was usually a skirt and bodice sown together and worn under a gown, but earlier it had been a gown, tight-fitting at the waist but flared below, and Anne Ryste's may still have been like that. Joan Grimshaw of Dovebridge 1542 had 2

harnessed girdles, 2 gowns 2 kirtles, and 2 hats. Girdles were belts, worn by men to carry sword, dagger and purse, and by women to carry a purse or small bag. *'Harnessed'*, while referring to the metalwork by which it was fastened, also means a fairly ornamental piece, with small semi-precious stones, or silverwork. The most valuable single item in the inventory of Margaret Clarke of Dovebridge 1547 was a silver harnessed girdle valued at 10s.

There are many interesting items from the Elizabethan period. Edmund Allen of Uttoxeter 1601, a capper of substance with relations and business connections in London, bequeathed his velvet girdle and a longbow. Robert Barton of Kingstone 1559 bequeathed a buckskin jerkin and enough flaxen cloth to make a smock to his niece. John Cowappe of Dovebridge 1592 had doublets of fustian and bucksleather, and Richd. Harvey of Hanbury 1568 a russet leather jerkin. Among bequests were a hempen shirt, 2 other shirts, his best hat, girdle, sword and dagger (Willm. Morton Hanbury 1562); sword and dagger, boothose, a frise coat, and russet jersey netherstocks (Willm. Mosley Marchington 1582). Fustian was a type of flaxen cloth. A jerkin was a close-fitting jacket or short coat. Frise was a coarse woollen material with the nap left on one side. One garment, of *'frise lambs leather'*, would have been a cured lambskin with short wool left on the nap side rather like astrakhan. Netherstocks were the bottom part of divided full length hose, often used with some sort of ornamental garter where they met the upperstocks or, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, breeches. Boothose were shoes and stockings made all of a piece. Five of the ladies from this period bequeathed their best gowns and petticoats together and these would certainly have been of the type described just now, open from the waist down to display the petticoat. Other items were *'best beads'* (Eliz. Holbrooke March. Woodlands 1559), best overbody (Margaret Hollis Uttox. 1595), silk hat, 2 sets of silver hooks, and a silver pin (Eliz. Norman Uttox. 1572), violet coat, harnessed girdle, and hat (Margaret Robotham Draycott 1571), harnessed girdle, best gown, coat, hat, and kerchief, workaday coat and canvas smock (Agnes Russell Kingstone 1559), black russet coat, another black coat, rugcoat, 2 waistcoats, best silk hat, best cap, thrummed hat (Emott Rosseton Morton 1575), best gown, best kirtle, silver tache hooks, silver pin, best petticoat, white petticoat, workaday red petticoat with a fringe, and best smock with the upperbody and sleeves of boothcloth (Alice Rushton Kingstone 1600). Russett here is a type of homespun woollen material, usually reddish in colour, but sometimes of darker shades. Ladies' caps at this date were not unlike the sort of cap worn today often by orthodox Jewish men, but rather larger, with a lace or other ornamental fringe. A thrummed hat was a tasselled hat of some sort. Boothcloth was canvas material of a very heavy kind.

There are enough examples for both sexes during the Stuart period to give some idea of the wardrobes of Staffordshire folk from this area then. John Austen, an apprentice shoemaker in Marchington, left 4 pr. of breeches, a fustian doublet, an old linen doublet and his best hat to various members of his master's family. Willm. Cowper of Hanbury 1605 bequeathed his best suit of apparel, which comprised a jerkin, buckskin doublet, pr. of hose, violet netherstocks, best cape, girdle and purse, and a new pair of quarter shoes. Richard Harrison Uttox. 1632 had a best hat, jerkin, doublet, breeches, and stockings, a workaday jerkin and breeches; and a leather doublet, riding coat, boots and spurs. John Meacocke Hanbury 1615 had best and 2nd. best blue coats, doublet, jerkin, and 2 pr. of breeches. James Rotheram Uttox. 1631 had a best set of clothes which comprised black coat, doublet, breeches, shirt, band, boothose, shoes, and hat. He had 2 other sets of clothes, the 3rd. of which he left to his sister to make clothes for her children. Lastly among the men was William Windsor March. Woodlands 1638, who had a market suit comprising a russet coat, jerkin, doublet, and buckskin breeches, and a best suit, which comprised a coat of blue and red medley, jerkin, doublet, and breeches.

Among the ladies' wardrobes are: best and old gowns and petticoats, waistcoat, pair of bodies and 3 hats, with aprons, cuffs, partlets, and other wearing linens (Agnes Clark Dovebridge 1629); 3 gowns and petticoats, waistcoat, 2 hats, hose, shoes, purse, girdle and all other linens (Anne Carter Beamhurst 1635); best gown, russet gown, red and russet petticoats, 2 partlets, kerchief, and best hat (Ursula Milnehouse Newborough 1623); 2 gowns the best of broadcloth and the other blue (Margaret Norenton Uttox. 1620); best black gown and kirtle, best stuff petticoat, best cloth gown, hat, ruffband, and lawn apron (Isabell Weild Uttox. 1638, widow of a barber-surgeon of the town, and quite well-to-do); best yellow petticoat and another one, a pr. of new shoes, a green apron, and best hat (Isabell Yennis Uttox. 1641).

STUDY 6. APPRENTICESHIP. PRIVATE CONTRACTS 1530-1650. PARISH APPRENTICES 1633-1833.

Systems of apprenticeship, by which a young person was contractually bound to a skilled master or dame to learn his or her science, trade, mystery, or profession, have existed for hundreds of years. They are at least as old as the great Trade Guilds, going back into the early years of the fourteenth century. Some of the earliest known instances have had a particular fascination for students of genealogy, in that they show the apprentice abandoning his own family name and taking that of his master. Ralph Fox, son of Walter Fox, on his completion of apprenticeship in London in 1310 to Hugh de Garton, a mercer, became Ralph de Garton; and Elias Amy son of Walter Amy was apprenticed to John de Salle in London as a capper, and after his admission as a capper in 1311 was commissioned to supervise the sale of caps as Elias de Salle. But, as may be expected in any system which developed through custom and usage rather than by Statute, there were great discrepancies between the various Guilds in lengths of apprenticeship and terms of service, coupled with possible abuse of apprentices by their masters, and abuse by the apprentices themselves of trust placed in them. During the reign of Henry VIII several Acts were passed which addressed this problem, and finally in Elizabeth's reign the great Statute of Artificers of 1562 produced a codified system of apprenticeship. The terms of service were for a minimum of 7 years and the rights of Masters and apprentices were set out in a format which continued in use until the early years of the twentieth century. A typical example is given as Appendix 1.

London was always a magnet for possible apprenticeship. Success there could bring a small fortune in a few years, and although records show that most London apprentices were drawn from the SE there were representatives in almost all trades from every county in England. Premiums required for apprenticeship into the most profitable liveries, the various categories of Merchant, were always high. In the 1670s, for instance, premiums for woollen and linen drapers and mercers were generally over £100. Goldsmith apprenticeships commanded £50, milliners £30, and coopers and cutlers from £10-35. Sums like this were put up by family members, hoping to set their youngsters on the road to a comfortable living. Such apprenticeships rarely began before 14 years of age, and most of the boys would have gone to school first to learn basic writing and accounting skills. There was normally a 'settling in' period for both the boy and the Master to decide whether they liked each other and would enjoy working together. There are enough recorded cases of boys absconding because of homesickness, as well as maltreatment, to show that human nature was always an uncertain factor. But it is quite certain that many boys went through the system and eventually profited from it.

Although there are no very early survivals of Uttoxeter apprentice indentures, there is plenty of evidence that they existed, both for young people apprenticed in the district and also apprenticed in London. Richard Myllward of Dovebridge 1547 made provision in his will of 6s.8d. per annum for each of his 5 youngest children until they reached the age of 18, but stipulated that at 15 years old they should each be put 'to prentice or service honestly apparelyd'. In 1558 Ralph Hill of Uttoxeter wrote

"...yf Richard Walton my servant do serve out the terme and yeares with Ellen my wife wch he and I agreed upon....then he shall have at thende of the same terme honest apparel and in money 3s.4d...."

Robert Granger of Coton 1560 left money to Robert Shaw his grandson

"...as his mother shall thynke mytest to be honestly set forth when she can hear of a good service..."

Henry Jennyn of Marchington 1581 left

"...to Elizabeth Jennyn my daughter £6.13.4 and that she be put to London or some other good service, and her money by my executors to her most profit."

In 1587 William Phillips, a Uttoxeter carrier, left 10s. to his sister Joan Richardson towards the placing of her son John, who had been his apprentice, and also instructed his wife, as his executor, to see that the boy left his service 'double appareled'. In 1558 William Scott, a Uttoxeter blacksmith, left his anvil to his son John, or alternatively to his apprentice Thomas Scott, who was to pay 12s. for it to John.

In 1602 Edmund Allen, a Uttoxeter capper, bequeathed

"...to my servant Henry Worrall 3s.4d. and 1 pair of my cappers gears..."

In 1604 William Addams, a Uttoxeter yeoman left

"... to Robert Addams my son £6 to be set forth and payde for his best preferment."

In 1610 James Butler, a Uttoxeter weaver, left

"...to William Belcher my apprentice my least heifer calf..."

In 1621 Robert Case of Hanbury, left

"...to Matthew Case now apprenticed in London the sum of £5....to be paid him within one year next after his apprenticeship expires..."

In 1623 Richard Mynors of Uttoxeter, Gent., left

"...to Sarah Spencer at the end of her apprenticeship 5s...."

In 1627/8 Richard Alte, a Uttoxeter corviser wrote

"...and my will is that Edward my sonne shalbe put prentize so soon as may be with some competent sum of money..."

In 1635 John Wilde, a barber surgeon of the town, left to his servant Robert Scattergood and his sister £1 each out of £5 owed by their mother. More light is thrown on this at his widow's death in 1638, when she left £5 to Robert Scattergood and the residue of the lease of the premises if his apprenticeship was completed by the time of her death, otherwise the lease was not to be assigned until his apprenticeship was complete. As the residue of her estate was left to her nephew John Scattergood, a Uttoxeter butcher, it seems likely that the apprentice Robert was his son and her great-nephew. In 1636 Ellen Hinckley, a Draycott widow left

"...to my eldest son George Hinckley £4 for his child's part and maintenance during his apprenticeship..."

In 1639 William Beech, a Uttoxeter mercer, left

"...to Thomas, William, Richard, and Francis, children of my brother Thomas Beech, £10 apiece the same to be bestowed in setting them forth apprentice..."

All these are typical examples of apprentices indentured in private contracts right across the period 1530-1650. There were no doubt many more for which no record has survived. And there is no doubt in any case that the mercers, the ironmongers, the barber surgeon and the fishmonger who were noted in the study on Uttoxeter tradesmen would have all served such apprenticeships, probably in London, and that many of the weavers, coopers, glovers, and shoemakers would have served them locally. So it can be seen that the old system, tidied up by the Statute of Artificers in 1562, served the economy of this district well, embracing both the children of the local gentry and those of yeoman and husbandman stock.

However under a further Act, in 1601, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, part of legislation attempting to deal with poverty and vagrancy, poor children could be bound apprentice where the Churchwardens and Overseers of the parish saw convenient, males until 24 years of age and females until 21 years of age. The powers of the Churchwardens and Overseers were further extended by an Act of 1696/7, by which parishioners of sufficient means could be compelled to take apprentices, provided the request was confirmed by 2 Justices of the Peace. The penalty for refusal was a £10 fine. That some abuse occurred as a result of this legislation is evident, since an Act of 1746/7 contained provisions for the protection of apprentices from ill-usage, and a further Act of 1792/3 allowed for a Master to be fined up to 40s. for proven abuse of his apprentice. The apprentice himself could be imprisoned with hard labour if convicted of idleness or misbehaviour.

An increase in poverty and vagrancy was an undoubted fact right across the whole period being considered in this series of Studies. The reasons for this have been the subject of dozens, if not hundreds, of books; and attempts to eliminate it or mitigate it were constant tasks for national and local government, with varying degrees of success. It is not the brief of these last 2 Studies to consider the problems or solutions in the broadest national arena, but just to look at Uttoxeter in the period 1633-1833 and see how the Authorities coped with some of the problems here.

It may well be that two factors at the end of the fifteenth century and early in the sixteenth century exacerbated the problems and made the Act of 1601 and the subsequent legislation almost inevitable. The first was a steadily increasing section of the population without its own land who from time to time from natural circumstances, mainly pestilence or famine, found themselves destitute and therefore dependent upon charity or the state. The second was the general change in attitudes to the poor which slowly appeared and gathered momentum as a result of the break with Rome and Dissolution of the religious houses, not just because these establishments were themselves great distributors of alms, but also because their disappearance saw the beginning of a new attitude to the problem among ordinary layfolk. In very large numbers of the earliest wills there are bequests to the poor, often not large but always there, evidence of the belief that to support ones' own poor was a Christian duty. This point was expanded on in Study 4. With the passage of time this concept seems to have been steadily eroded, to be replaced by the idea that the State rather than the Church had taken over responsibility for the poor, and levies made by the State would provide for them. Whether or not this led to an improvement in the efficacy of what was offered to the poor is still argued about; but one certain effect was that the poor themselves saw that the Church itself was not acting on their behalf as it had once done, and that the State never generated any confidence that the problem could or would be better faced.

In the local context, there certainly was a noticeable decline in the numbers of poor bequests by the middle years of the seventeenth century, but there were nevertheless still some very remarkable ones. Two of these were the driving force behind a long series of Uttoxeter parish apprenticeships over a period of almost 200 years, and it is these which are the principal concern of this Study.

A collection of over 600 apprentice indentures, covering the years 1633-1833, is part of an even larger collection of documentary material associated with poor relief which until a few years ago was kept in the

Vestry of St. Mary's church in Uttoxeter but is now deposited at the County Record Office in Stafford. The indentures are classified there as D3891/6/766-1369. Very few of them refer to privately arranged contracts of the type discussed at the beginning of this Study. Those that are were most probably lodged by the apprentice himself, either for safe-keeping or as proof of his settlement in a particular parish or town. Not more than 8 come into this category.

Almost all of them, therefore, were for poor children of the parish. However, they do divide into two distinct groups, those made with the authority of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor, and those made with the authority of the Feoffees and Trustees of the Poor of Uttoxeter.

There had existed in Uttoxeter for a very long period funds for the assistance of poor people, principally as a result of bequests in wills of philanthropically minded Uttoxeter townsfolk. Two such funds were specifically made to provide for poor apprentices, and are referred to at times in some of the indentures themselves.

The first of these funds was John Dynes' Gift. Under the terms of John Dynes' will of 12th. January 1644, his house in Uttoxeter, one acre of land out of the common field called the Botham, and one garden, were left in a Charitable Trust, the income from which was to be employed by the Vicar of Uttoxeter and certain Trustees for the setting and placing of children in apprenticeships, at their discretion. This was the principal fund administered by the Feoffees and Trustees of the Poor. During the seventeenth century the sum applied per apprentice was generally £5, paid to the Master in 5 annual instalments. In the early years of the eighteenth century this was increased to £6, normally a £2 down payment and four further annual payments. At the time of the Charity Commissioners' Report for Staffordshire of 1835-39, the assets of the John Dines' Gift were the Talbot Public House, let at £60 per annum subject to a deduction for repairs, and the acre of ground let for £8 per annum. The clear rents from these were applied to the apprenticing of poor boys, with each of whom a premium of £8 was allowed, paid in instalments during the apprenticeship. It is likely that these figures were given to the Commissioners at an earlier date than 1835, since from 1828 onwards the premium paid for Trade Apprenticeships was £10 per boy.

The other fund sometimes specifically referred to was William Mynors' Gift. By the terms of his will of 27th. October 1666, £100 was to be used for the purchase of land to provide an income for the poor of Uttoxeter Woodlands, and a half of this income to be applied to the apprenticing of poor boys of the Woodlands, to be used as applications were made. In the indentures of the middle years of the eighteenth century funded by this Charity the premiums paid were 50s. per boy. By 1776 this had increased to £5 per boy, and this is also the amount given at the time of the Charity Commissioners' Report.

A large number of the apprenticeships in the collection, 189 definitely and about 30 more almost certainly, were paid for out of these Charitable Funds administered by the Feoffees and Trustees of the Poor of Uttoxeter, and these apprenticeships were all to proper trades. The remaining indentures, about 390 in all, are those of compulsory poor apprenticeships made by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor under the powers of the Acts of 1601 and 1697/8. These were mostly in Husbandry for boys or Housewifery for girls and were until 24 years of age for males and 21 years of age for females. However there are a number of great interest which deal with the transfer of a child from this type of service to a proper trade apprenticeship, and these are considered as they appear.

All the indentures were drawn up in duplicate. Strictly speaking an indenture was a chirograph, with an irregularly cut or torn division between the two parts, which could if necessary be matched up to prevent any fraudulent application. The Feoffees or the Churchwardens, as the authorising and financing bodies, held the one part and the Master held the other part. This latter part would normally have been given to the apprentice upon satisfactory completion of his term. The early Uttoxeter indentures sometimes end with the words '*and give him this indenture*'. The newly qualified young man might then have chosen to lodge his indenture in the Parish Chest for safe keeping. For 13 of the Uttoxeter apprenticeships both halves of the indenture are preserved.

For the purposes of this Study the indentures have been considered in five chronological series, 1633-1711, 1723-1741, 1742-1778, 1779-1799, and 1800-1833. These divisions are quite arbitrary, but there is a gap of 12 years between the end of the first series and the start of the second from which no indentures have been preserved. 1778 was the last year in which indentures with the authority of the Feoffees and Trustees were issued, and 1800 marks the reappearance of proper trade apprenticeships.

The first series, from 1633-1711 contains 104 indentures. Only 4 of them were not proper trade apprenticeships. One was the earliest, Mary Foster, put in 1633 as a '*maiden apprentice*' by the executors of her father Abram Foster, who had been a webster, to Thomas Fenton of Moor Lane Uttoxeter until she was 16 years old. What Fenton's trade was is not known. One of the others, Clement Alport, was apprenticed to Richard Jackson, the vicar, in 1696 for 7 years. No trade is recorded on the indenture. Another was Mary Smith, who in

1706 had a 6 year indenture with Thomas Cooper, a Wolverhampton locksmith. She may have learnt the trade, but the indenture does not actually say.

The remainder were apprenticed to various trades. There were 18 tailors, 15 shoemakers, 11 locksmiths, 10 weavers, 10 glovers, 5 towdressers, 4 bonelace weavers, 3 each of feltmakers and blacksmiths, 2 each of butchers, bricklayers and nailors, and 1 each of lorimer, cooper, barber and periwig maker, heelmaker, glazier, carpenter, basket maker, whitesmith, skinner, bucklemaker, stonegetter, gardener, and pettychapman. Of the first 35 indentures, up to 1681, only 2 were placed outside Uttoxeter; of the 39 from then to 1697 8 were placed outside the town; from 1698 to 1711 22 of the 29 were placed outside the town. Of these 32 who went away from the town, 14 were placed quite locally, at Abbots Bromley, Amerton, Dovebridge, Rocester, Combridge, Marchington, Rugeley, Tixall, Colwich, Stafford, Brocton, Milwich, Burton and Penkridge. Of those who went farther afield, 10 went to Wolverhampton, and 1 each to Walsall, Stourbridge, Newport(Salop), Bakewell, Wednesfield, Blurton, Presbury, and Yardley. 3 of these boys who went some way away were apprenticed to men with the same surname as themselves, and may therefore have been related to them. This was also the case for 2 more of the boys apprenticed in the town, and there were also 4 boys who were specifically apprenticed to their own fathers.

4 of the indentures were for 9 year terms, 14 for 8 year terms, 2 for 6 year terms, and one states '*Till she is 16 years old*'. The remainder were for the customary 7 years. Only 3 of the indentures prior to 1692 give the premium paid with the contract. They were 3 girls, all bonelace weavers, giving 20s. per annum, two of them for 6 years and one for 3 years. From 1693 to the end of the series, a further 56 indentures, the premium is omitted only once. Two of them were for £7, of which one was a bricklayer payable in 7 annual instalments and the other a skinner, paid in a lump sum. One was for 30s., and another, a girl, for £1. The remaining premiums were all £5, paid at 20s. per annum for 5 years. These payments were sometimes recorded on the back of the indenture, with the Master's signature acknowledging receipt.

All of these early indentures were handwritten, and although they all broadly conform with conditions of contract expected in apprenticeships, there are nevertheless many interesting small points of difference, indicating that each one was separately negotiated by the Feoffees with the Master. Richard Wilkes was apprenticed butcher to John Knight of Abbots Bromley in 1641, and was to be provided with '*meate, drinke, lodgyng, washing, wringing, and apparell both woollen and linen*'. Joseph Bayley was apprenticed tailor in 1697 to William Clarke of Uttoxeter who '*at the end of his Terme shall sett him out with a handsom Suit of Apparell*'. Wording of this sort appeared not infrequently. Oliver More als Davenport's master in 1646 undertook at the end of his term to provide him with '*double apparell and twenty shillings in money*'. Richard Harrison, apprenticed bricklayer in 1697 was provided with '*aprons and for the first 5 years half the wages he earns for his labour and for the last 2 years 8d. per day for his work*'. In 1693 Thomas Horderne, a Uttoxeter shoemaker, undertook to pay his apprentice Richard Parker 16d. per week during his 7th. year and 18d. per week during his 8th. year. When Thomas Biddulph a widow's son was apprenticed blacksmith in 1694 the Feoffees paid additionally 20s. for a pair of shoes and necessary clothing at the sealing of the indenture.

The overall impression gained from this early series of indentures is that the town, through its Trustees, made a conscientious effort to do its best for its poor children, so far as funds permitted. Whether or not they were able to provide for all who applied for such assistance is not known. But certainly the two named charitable Trusts must have been an enormous help. Other like minded people appear from time to time. William Lea, another widow's son, was apprenticed shoemaker in 1668 '*with the assistance of Thomas Sherwin and other his friends there*'.

The second series from 1723-1741 has 139 surviving indentures. It is quite clear in this period that the poor apprenticeships fall into two categories. On the one hand were the Feoffees and Trustees apprenticing children into proper trades, and on the other hand are the Churchwardens and Overseers using their powers under the Acts of 1601 and 1696/7 to place poor children where they would not be a liability on the parish funds. It is appropriate to consider these two classes of apprenticeship separately.

56 of the indentures were made with the authority of the Feoffees and Trustees, 2 more with both them and the Churchwardens and Overseers. All these were handwritten. From 1739 on a standardized type of form was used, handwritten but with spaces at appropriate points for the names of the parties, dates, and any special conditions, which were filled in in a different hand. But for the most part each indenture was written entirely in one hand for each apprenticeship. All 58 of these were to proper trades. There were 18 shoemakers, 12 tailors, 8 weavers, 7 glovers, 3 bricklayers, 2 each of towdresser and glover and breeches maker, and 1 each of currier, gardener, ropemaker, heelmaker, skinner and breeches maker, and baker. 47 of the 58 were placed with Masters in Uttoxeter and the rest at no great distance, 1 each to Stafford, Cheadle (Staffs), Abbots Bromley, Bloxwich, Stone, Longdon, Marchington, Forsbrook, Coton-in-Milwich, Tutbury and Doveridge. 11 of them were apprenticed to their own fathers and 2 to their mothers, and a further 3 to probable relations with the same

surname. One boy was apprenticed to his elder brother.

2 of the indentures were for 8 year terms. The other 56 were for 7 years. For 3 of the boys the premium paid was £5, for 2 £4 and 1 £3. One gives no amount. The remaining 51 were £6, and the method of payment was invariable. £2 was paid at the sealing of the indenture followed by annual payments of £1 until the agreed amount was paid. Only 2 of the indentures do not have all the payments recorded on the reverse with the Master's signature acknowledging receipt. All 58 of these apprentices were boys.

The conscientiousness of the Feoffees and Trustees in the execution of their Trust is clearly demonstrated in the records of 2 of these apprentices, whose terms did not proceed as smoothly as they might have done. The first was Thomas Wakelin, apprenticed on 13th. December 1727 with the normal 7 year terms and conditions to John Ash, a glover in the town, to learn the trade. However in a new indenture, John Ash pleaded insufficient employment for the boy and he was transferred, with the approval of the Feoffees, to William Rogers, another glover, with the balance of the premium (£3) to be paid to him. On 16th. March 1730 William Rogers too pleaded insufficient employment for the boy, and the Feoffees once again approved his transfer to John Elliot, another glover, where the boy duly finished his apprenticeship. It may be surmised that some of the town's glovers were falling on hard times during this period, but nevertheless the intentions of the Feoffees to see this boy through his apprenticeship are quite clear. The second of these boys was John Bridgford, apprenticed shoemaker to James Stowell of the town in December 1728. This is a particularly interesting indenture, in which the Master agreed, both that the boy himself should have the instalments as they fell due, and also that he would pay the boy 12d. per week in his fifth year, 14d. per week in the sixth, and 16d. per week in the last year of the term. However a further indenture of December 1731 reveals that James Stowell had absconded from his business

"...whereby the good intentions of the Trustees in the said indenture mentioned of procuring the said boy a trade is hitherto frustrated....."

John Bridgford was reapprenticed to George Shingleton, a Bloxwich bricklayer, to learn his trade instead. The boy may not have benefitted so much financially as he would have done under the original agreement, but he did learn a proper trade, for the instalments were duly paid under the new agreement, and the Feoffees appear to have arranged satisfactorily for him.

There are no surviving Feoffees' indentures in this period for 1729, 1736-8 and 1740. Whether any were made is not known. There are 6 for 1727, 9 for 1728, 5 for 1730, 7 for 1731, 8 for 1732, 7 for 1733, 4 for 1734, 3 for 1735, 1 for 1739, and 8 for 1741. It is probable that in most years the Trust would have generated sufficient income for the Feoffees to be able to place half a dozen or so boys into proper apprenticeships. What % this was of the total of possible claimants is not ascertainable. Nor are there any obvious criteria as to how the choice of child was made, except that there were no girls at all. It is interesting that a fairly large number were apprenticed to their own parents, or some member of their family. Possibly the Feoffees felt that the children would live more cheaply in their own families, and so maximise the effect of the annual grant. It may have been a genuine attempt by the Feoffees to give some of the town's tradesmen in poor circumstances the opportunity to train their own sons. It could even have been some sort of poor relief with a proviso attached. There is really no way of telling. But there is no doubt that there was a benevolence at work here, tempered with good business sense.

The other 81 indentures of this series were made with the authority of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor. All of these were on printed forms of a type seen throughout England at this time. Only 9 of these were to proper trades. There were 2 websters, 1 papermaker and 1 (the only girl) a bonelace weaver. These 4 were 7 year apprenticeships. 1 boy was apprenticed miller until 24 years old. The other 4 trade apprenticeships were boys originally apprenticed in husbandry, but transferred at a later date to proper trade apprenticeships. They were 1 each of papermaker, bucklemaker, wheelwright, and tow dresser. This last was Peter Needham, who was re-apprenticed to Thomas Needham. It could have been a relation who decided, or was encouraged, to take him on. There are another 5 which may have been trade apprenticeships, but are very doubtful. They were 1 each of spinster or any other business, papermaker or any other business, dyer or any other business (these 3 for 7 years), tailor, and clockmaker (these 2 being girls until 21 years old).

The remaining 67 were apprenticeships in husbandry or housewifery and, except for 2 with 7 year terms, were until 24 years old for boys and 21 years old for girls. Those for girls usually have the proviso 'or until marriage'. 13 of them, all between 1723-26, give the premium, the amounts varying between £1 and £3. After 1726 the premium is only recorded when an apprentice was transferred from one Master to another, in 5 instances. It was never more than £3.10.0. Although the abode of the Master is frequently not given it can be assumed to have been Uttoxeter unless the indenture says otherwise. Only 12 were placed away from the town, 2 each to Tamworth, Alkmonton and Milwich and 1 each to Great Haywood, Trentham, Ellastone, Pen, Foston, and Kings Bromley. 37 of these Churchwarden and Overseer indentures were for girls. It seems likely that the

Overseers paid as little as possible to free the parish from financial responsibility for these children. For girls the amount was evidently quite frequently £1. For boys £3 is the more likely figure. Towards the end of the series the trade or profession of the Master is given more frequently. Among them were Henry Cotton, the vicar of the town, William Landes, a writing master, Mrs. Mary Bull, a milliner, and John Motteram, a surgeon.

The very small number of documents relating to husbandry apprentices who were re-apprenticed do show that an attempt was made to put some of these poor children to a proper trade if the opportunity presented itself. The second indenture of Edward Ames previously apprenticed to John Clowes in husbandry illustrates this. Dated 18th. July 1733 it says

"...and whereas the said John Clowes not having employment for the said apprentice in husbandry and being willing and desirous that he should learn some honest calling hath agreed with the said Humphrey Elkin to assign over the said apprentice...to learn his said trade of Wheelwright..."

The other indentures in this category are couched in similar terms. Although there are few such examples, they may well indicate that the Churchwardens and Overseers were not so much unwilling to help these poor children as unable to do so for lack of funds and suitable opportunities. There was certainly no great attempt to get rid of the children from the town, as nearly all these apprentices were placed in Uttoxeter. It is most likely that they were placed where they would be fed, clothed, and housed with the least likelihood of further calls on the parish funds. No doubt such children were set to work at husbandry and household tasks. It is likely that many of the Masters were small farmers. (In series 3 and 4 this is certain, since they are named.) In such circumstances it is not likely that the conditions of life and work would have been much different from those of the Master's own children. Life would not have been easy for any of them. Most of these Masters were themselves of not much wealth or material possessions. A study of a few wills of this date, which sometimes still have inventories of goods, demonstrates this fact.

In the third series of indentures, covering the years 1742-1778, there are 153 surviving. They continue to be divided into the same 2 broad categories as those of series 2, but more personal detail appears on those issued by the Churchwardens and Overseers. The child's age was recorded for the first time in 1754, and thereafter with increasing regularity. The Feoffees' indentures never gave the boy's age. The trade or profession of the Master is also recorded on almost all of the Churchwardens and Overseers' indentures. Once again the 2 categories are best considered separately.

54 were issued by the Feoffees and Trustees, and a further 5 authorised under the terms of the William Minors' Gift. They were all boys, all to proper trades and, but for one of 4 years, were all for 7 year terms. 20 of them were shoemakers, 10 weavers/woolcombers, 7 tailors, 4 bucklemakers, 3 feltmakers, 2 blacksmiths, 2 glover and breech makers, and 1 each of gardener, tow dresser, clogger and heelmaker, cooper, locksmith, heelmaker, toymaker, brassfounder, sievemaker, bricklayer, and basketmaker. 18 of them were placed away from the town, including 6 of the 7 tailors and all 4 of the buckle makers. These 4 went into the Birmingham/Wolverhampton/Walsall area, at that date beginning to feel its industrial feet. The brassfounder, locksmith and toymaker also went there. But most of the outside boys were placed quite locally, at Burton, Tunstall, Hanbury, Doveridge, Hilderstone, Marchington, Yoxall, Leigh, and Boystone. 51 of the 54 give the premium as £6. The first 4 of the William Minors' Gift indentures give the premium as £2.10.0, and the last in 1776, as £5. (This was the figure given in the Charity Commissioners' Report.)

There are 4 indentures in the series which do not fit into either category, being almost certainly all privately contracted apprenticeships. One is very interesting although it has nothing to do with Uttoxeter. It is for George Sharpe, apprenticed tailor at Dalby-on-the-Wolds in Leicestershire in 1758. His Master undertook to find him meat, drink and lodging

"...apparel excepted which the father is to find...the Master to make and mend the same and also to give the said apprentice 5 months schooling to learn to read and write during the said term..."

George Sharpe had signed it himself. This certificate was most probably lodged for safe-keeping, and as proof of his place of settlement.

The remaining 88 indentures of the series are those made by the Churchwardens and Overseers. 52 were boys and 36 girls. The ages of the children are recorded on 57 of them. One was 15 years old, 4 were 14, 2 were 13, 11 were 12, 4 were 11, 12 were 10, 10 were 9, 11 were 8, and 2 were 7 year olds. 10 of them were apprenticed to proper trades, 2 weavers, 2 bucklemakers, and 1 each of tailor, mantua maker, whitesmith, shoemaker, spectaclemaker and sweep. A further 3 which may be considered under this heading were 1 upholsterer or other business, 1 weaver or other business, 1 skinner or other business. 7 of these 13 went away from the town, 2 to Walsall, 1 each to Bilston, Barlaston, Stafford, Wolverhampton, and Birmingham. The mantua maker and the upholsterer were the only girls in this group. The remaining 75 indentures were all to husbandry or housewifery. Only 3 of these went away from the town, 1 each to Walsall, Boystone, and Grindon. 61 of the indentures record the trade or profession of the Master. There were 10

farmers/yeomen/husbandmen, 4 each of gentleman, innholder, and shoemaker, 3 each of surgeon and maltster, 2 each of apothecary, skinner, cheesefactor, baker, swailer, and widow, and 1 each of tailor, dyer, glover, gardener, jeweller, architect, skin dealer, waggoner, tanner, joiner, brasier, woolcomber, watchmaker, spinster, schoolmaster, cooper, and tawer.

In this series too, those indentures which transfer children from husbandry or housewifery to a trade, and there are 5 of them, are particularly interesting. William Fieldhouse had been apprenticed in husbandry in 1741 for the usual term 'till 24 years old' but the new indenture says, in 1742,

".....and whereas the said Thomas Cowper out of his goodwill towards the said apprentice and that he may have a trade in his hand for his future support and preferment hath agreed to assign.....to the said Thomas Shelley to learn his said Art of a Taylor....."

Thomas Cowper himself paid the new Master £7.10.0 as a premium with the boy, considerably more than the Feoffees were paying with their apprentices. The re-apprenticement of Ann Bridgford in 1747 is also illuminating. She had been first apprenticed in housewifery to William Lowndes, the writing master, in 1741. 6½ years later, when she would probably have been 16 or 17 years old, she was transferred to Edward Sansom, a barber and periwig maker, who undertook that she should be taught

"...the art business of a Mantua maker which my wife now useth...."

George Gilles' indenture of 1743 is a transfer of which the original is lost. The new indenture states

"...till midsummer next a covenanted servant and from thereafter apprenticed bucklemaker"

Samuel Chatfield had been taken in 1756 as a husbandry apprentice by James Taylor, a shoemaker in the town, until 24 years of age. When James Taylor died not long after, the boy was re-apprenticed as a shoemaker for a 7 year term with Thomas Bunting. It could quite reasonably be inferred that the boy had shown sufficient aptitude for the trade in the short time he had been with his first Master to persuade Thomas Bunting that he would make a good shoemaking apprentice.

The general conclusions to be drawn from this series are much the same as for series 2, but it is noteworthy that there were fewer glovers' and tailors' apprenticeships, and also that almost all the tailoring apprentices went to Masters outside the town. The additional information recorded on the indentures of the Churchwardens and Overseers gives added depth to information about the social and economic structure of the town in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Series 4, covering the 20 years from 1779-99 consists of 100 indentures. It is remarkable for the fact that none of them was made with the authority of the Feoffees and Trustees, and only 2 were apprenticed to proper trades, 1 flaxdresser and 1 tailor, plus another possible boy as sievemaker or other business. The other 97 were all to husbandry or housewifery. Two of them, both in 1779 were 'till 24 years of age'. In fact an Act of 18 Geo III (1777-8) had reduced the maximum age for males to 21 years. Apprenticeship to the later age had been found to 'disturb the peace of domestic life, check marriage, and discourage industry'. The lowering of the limit was made to 'avoid the hardships brought on such apprentices by the length of their apprenticeship' and also 'to maintain the good harmony between Master and apprentice'. So it would seem that these 2 boys had terms which were not strictly legal. All the rest were until 21 years of age. 3 of the indentures are duplicates, so there were 97 children in all, 56 boys and 41 girls. 4 had no age recorded. The ages of the remainder were: 8 years 33, 7 years 18, 9 years 14, 10 years 10, 12 years 8, 11 years 5, 13 years 3, and 1 each of 5 years, 14 years and 15 years. It was not legal to apprentice a 5 year old child. He was Thomas Horobin, who was put with John Wright, a farmer of Knightsland in Uttoxeter in 1781. He evidently survived alright, since his marriage is recorded to Hannah Beardmore in the Uttoxeter Register in 1821. Only 8 of the 100 were apprenticed outside the town, including 1 of the trade apprentices. 4 went to Birmingham and 1 each to Stone, Aldridge, Burton, and Nottingham. 10 of the indentures have no trade or profession recorded for the master. 3 of these were women, who were presumably either widow, housewife, or spinster. The remainder comprise 32 farmers, 6 victuallers, 4 shoemakers, 4 esquires/gentlemen/yeomen, 3 each of blacksmith and joiner, 2 each of saddler, wheelwright, surgeon, bricklayer, and bucklemaker, and 1 each of higgler, spectaclemaker, hoopshaver, priest, chapfiler, miller, grocer, flaxdresser, sievemaker, locksmith, brasier, collarmaker, land surveyor, weaver, tailor, chairturner, draper, watchmaker, butcher, heelmaker, ironmonger, stationer, chandler, clockmaker, and corkcutter.

It is obvious that the Charity Trustees were not administering those funds which had been specified for apprenticeship as they had done previously. It is quite likely that the real work involved in finding suitable places for trade apprentices had been done for many years by just 1 or 2 conscientious members of the official body of the Trustees, and that these men were now dead. Possibly the vicar, Athanasius Herring, was less caring in this department of his responsibility than he might have been. The Charity Commissioner Report of 1835-9 dealing with Uttoxeter noted that in 1727 it was decided that the Trustees should number 19, plus the Vicar, Churchwardens and Overseers, and that the Trustees should administer the Charities and make a feoffment to

the use of the Churchwardens and Overseers for the time being, and to the use of certain Trustees and their heirs. The Report goes on to say:-

"It is very desirable that either these gentlemen should act in their management of the Trust, or if they decline to do so, that a new appointment should be made of others who are willing to undertake the duties of it, instead of the performance of those duties being left altogether to the fluctuating body of Parish Officers. It will be seen that many of the Charities are directed to be disposed of by the vicar and parish officers, but we do not find the vicar has of late years attended the meetings holden for such distributions."

Although the Report is dated later than the series being considered, many of its conclusions were derived from information collected over a period of years, and its findings fit the case exactly. No doubt it was as difficult then, as indeed it is now, to find suitable people to undertake and give continuity to such unpaid and often thankless work. Inevitably one wonders what was the fate of all these husbandry apprenticed children, effectively billeted out with people they didn't know who didn't want them anyway. There has been a modern parallel of sorts in the 1939 evacuation of city children to safe country areas, which is quite well documented. Although there were some horror stories, the overall impression on that occasion was of the billetters shrugging their shoulders and accepting the state of affairs, and not infrequently eventually enjoying the presence of their visitors; and of the billetees themselves settling very quickly into their new environments. It may have been that in a rural township such as Uttoxeter the effects on the children and their Masters were little different. There is certainly no evidence here for children dying young wholesale. The Burial Register for Uttoxeter from 1780-1802 reveals only 7 deaths which may have been series 4 apprentices, and even these are not certain, since some surnames are quite common locally, and ages at death are not given in these earlier Registers. More positively, the town's Marriage Register records the marriages of 22 of these apprentices between 1795-1824. However there is not enough evidence to make any judgment in depth, and the majority of these apprentices remain the 'faceless poor'.

In the final series, from 1800-33, there are 110 indentures. They were all made by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor, who had evidently now accepted the responsibilities of the Feoffees and Trustees. 6 are duplicates, so there were 104 actual apprentices. 17 of them were girls. 2 of them were apprenticed to 'chair turning, or some other lawful business' with a chairturner in Derby. They were sisters of 7 and 9 years old. One was apprenticed to 'some lawful business' with a collier in Mapperley. The other 14 were all husbandry/houswifery/some lawful business apprentices placed in Uttoxeter itself.

Of the 87 boys, 55 were apprenticed into proper trades. There were 15 shoemakers, 4 tailors, 3 each of blacksmith, whitesmith and framework knitter, 2 each of wheelwright, chairmaker, basketmaker and stonemason, and 1 each of last and patternmaker, maltster, gunbarrel borer, dyer, tanner, ropemaker, coffeemillmaker, brasslocksmith, joiner and cabinetmaker, nailor, stirrupmaker, bridlebitmaker, brickmaker and nailor, turner and chairmaker, headmaker, baker, grocer, and chimneysweep. 39 of these 55 boys were apprenticed outside the town. At some distance were 4 to Birmingham, 3 to Kimberley in Notts., 2 each to Wolverhampton, Nottingham, and Bloxwich, and 1 each to Ipstones, Leek, Perry Bar, and Belper. More locally were 17 to Stafford, and 1 each to Stone, Abbots Bromley, Marchington, Salt, and Hollinton.

The remaining 32 boys were apprenticed to husbandry or 'some lawfull business' or there was no trade stated. None of these boys was apprenticed outside the town. The trade or profession of the Masters, where given was: 11 farmers, 6 gentlemen, 2 doctors and 1 each of cutler, priest, grocer, shoemaker, banker, butcher, stationer, and plumber and glazier.

The ages of all 104 children were recorded. There were 3 of 7 years old, 7 of 8 years, 7 of 9 years, 17 of 10 years, 11 of 11 years, 21 of 12 years, 20 of 13 years, 10 of 14 years, 3 each of 15 and 16 years, and 2 of 17 years old. The amount of premium is recorded on 24 indentures, all trade apprenticeships. From 1827 to the end of the series the amount was £10, with 1 exception (£8). The indenture of 17 year old John Parker, in 1822, recorded additionally that

"Mark Mellor doth covenant and agree to pay the said apprentice 5s. weekly for the first year, 7s. weekly for the 2nd. year, 9s. weekly for the 3rd. year and 12s. weekly for the remainder..."

Mark Mellor, the Master in this indenture, was a Uttoxeter stonemason.

It does appear that in this series funds available through the Charitable Trusts were being properly applied. Over 50% of the boys were apprenticed into proper trades. It is also noteworthy that from 1819 to the series end, only 1 of the trade apprenticeships was of a child under 12 years old. Those apprenticed into the heavy trades were older. The 3 blacksmiths were 15 and 16 year olds, the 2 stonemasons were 14 and 17, and the tanner was 16. The average age at which the children were first put out had also increased. Whereas in series 4 the greatest numbers were of 7 and 8 year old children, in series 5 they were of 12 and 13 years old. Of those apprenticed in husbandry, one third went to farmers, obviously to be employed on the land, and another third went to gentlemen, esquires, and professional people, who would have maintained households requiring

chambermaids, houseboys, gardening assistants, and suchlike.

There is not really evidence of abuse of children here, if one allows for the fact that most children started work at a much earlier age than now, whether or not they came from deprived circumstances. There are 4 indentures which might reflect the evils possible in the system. These were the 2 sisters of 7 and 9 years old sent to a chairmaker in Derby in 1800, the 12 year old girl sent to a collier at Mapperley in 1801, and a boy of 5 years old apprenticed to a chimneysweep in 1805. On his indenture he was described as '3rd. apprentice'. Charles Kingsleys' vivid picture of such a child, in "The Water Babies", comes instantly to mind.

The spread of trades in the series demonstrates the changing pattern of industry. More of the boys went into trades connected with the developing iron and steel trades in the Black Country. Almost all the shoemaking apprentices went to Stafford. There were only 3 tailoring apprentices in the town, and of weavers, glovers, and flaxdressers, once traditional trades there, there is no trace. The demise of these was no doubt due in part to the introduction of mechanised methods, which seemed largely to have passed Uttoxeter by. The fact that it was passed by may well be the key reason why Uttoxeter is excluded from that terrible early nineteenth century picture vividly described by Mr. Tate in his book 'The Parish Chest'.

"...the records of the mills in manufacturing towns and villages which imported pauper children by the wagon-load from London, contracting to take 1 idiot in every 20, where the conditions were indescribably horrible, and where graveyards are crammed with scores of the bodies of these unfortunates who were literally worked to death. No less a person than Karl Marx said with some justice 'a great deal of capital was yesterday in England the capitalised blood of children'....."

Uttoxeter remained, right through that giant surge and population movement of the early Industrial Revolution, a comparatively small market town in an essentially rural dairy farming environment. Its population growth, such as it was, was a reflection of slowly improving standards of housing, hygiene, and medical care, not of industrial and economic development. It never produced such large numbers of children, deprived or not, that it was not able to place them in the traditional ways which had worked tolerably well for several hundred years for such a rural community. The overall picture created by the complete collection of indentures demonstrates this quite well. Even in series 4, which illustrates what happened when conscientious philanthropically minded people were not there to operate the system properly, the impression is that the children were not so much abused as that their potential was not realised as well as it might have been. It must also be said that the collection as a whole also demonstrates one of the weaknesses of the system. Even if all the children who passed successfully through trade apprenticeships escaped from the poverty trap for good, which is doubtful, the pool of husbandry apprentices within the town was sufficiently large to produce another generation of poor children in the same situation. There were 22 surnames which appear in at least 3 of the series, of which 4, Harrison, Horobin, Hudson, and Oldfield appear in 4 of them, and 2, Parker and Smith, appear right through.

APPENDIX 1. INDENTURE OF THOMAS WARRELLOR. 1693. (Handwritten, but a typical format.)

This indenture witnesseth that Thomas Warrellor Sonne of Thomas Warrellor of Uttoxator in the County of Stafford Glazier of his owne free will and by and with the consent and Assistance of the Feoffees for the Poor of Uttoxator aforesaid hath put himself Apprentice to and with his said Father and with him after the manner of an Apprentice to dwell and abide from the daye of the date hereof for and dureing and untill the full end and Terme of Seaven Yeares from thence next ensuing and the same to be fully compleate and ended dureing all which said Terme of Seaven Yeares the said Apprentice his said Master well and truly shall serve his secrets keep his honest and lawfull Commandments he shall doe no fornicacon he shall committ nor Matrimony within the said Terme contact Hurt to his said Master he shall not doe cause or willingly suffer to be done but shall let the same or his Master thereof warne Tavernes alehouses nor unlawful games he shall not haunt The Goodes of his said Master he shall not inordinately waste lend or spend without his Master licence Nor from the Service of his said Master by night nor daye shall absent or withdrawe himself but in all things as a true and faithfull Apprentice ought shall behave himself in both word and deed And the said Thomas Warrellor to his said Apprentice the Art and Trade of a Glazier which he now useth in the best manner that he may or can shall teach and informe or cause to be taught and informed as much as the said Thomas lyeth or to the said Art or Trade belongeth Finding to his said Apprentice good and wholesome meate and drinke with washing and lodgeing and all manner of apparell fitt and convenient for him to weare dureing the said Terme of Seaven Yeares and the said Feoffees doe herein and hereby promise to pay unto the said Thomas Warrellor with his said Apprentice the Summe of Twenty Shillings per yeare yearly dureing the first Five Yeares of the said Terme if the said Apprentice soe long live with his said Master In Witnesse whereof the said Parties to these present Indentures have interchangeably put their handes and Seales the Thirteenth Day of Aprill in the Fifth yeare of the Raigne of oyr Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland Kinge and Queene Defenders of the Faith etc. Anno Dom 1693

STUDY 7. UTTOXETER POOR RECORDS: SETTLEMENT AND REMOVAL 1697-1825.

This final study has as its principal source material the remainder of that large collection of documents from the Uttoxeter Parish Chest connected with the administration of the Poor Law there. The largest part of this collection consists of apprentice indentures, over 600 items, which were considered in the previous Study. The remainder comprises mainly settlement and removal certificates, but there is a fair amount of other related material, in all almost 500 items. Some knowledge of the laws relating to the mobility of the landless labouring classes is necessary to be able to evaluate all this material.

It goes almost without saying that there must be problems of some sort attached to any permanent or semi-permanent move from one place to another. These problems are most apparent when the proposed move is from one country to another. Indeed very many countries of the world have rigorous procedures of investigation for foreigners proposing to settle in their territories. We do not, however, associate such procedures with any permanent move we may decide to make in our own country today. The limitations on movement within the UK for law-abiding citizens are non-statutory; they are more subtle and self-imposed. Whether there is work is, for most men, a paramount consideration; and assuming work is available, whether there is suitable accommodation for himself and his family. Lesser considerations might be the availability of schools, shops, and facilities, and the physical nature of the environment. It may reasonably be argued that such limitations are just as restricting as statutory ones would be, but the fact remains that we are at liberty to move about as we wish in this country.

It has not always been so. Before the arrival of National Insurance and the State Pension, Unemployment Benefit, the National Health Service, and the whole impedimenta of National Social Welfare, relief for the needy, the sick, and the elderly was organised on a local basis, broadly speaking by parishes. These arrangements, with subsequent minor modifications, dated from the Poor Law legislation passed at the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1601. Because such arrangements were not national does not mean that the relief provided was not fairly well organised and funded, but it does mean that the parochial authorities whose responsibility it was to raise and administer such funds tended to be very inward looking. Any person or family attempting to move into a new parish was potentially an extra burden on local funds, and as such viewed with suspicion. The all-important necessity was to have 'legal settlement' in a parish somewhere. However, as the first half of the seventeenth century progressed, proof of 'legal settlement' became a more and more contentious issue, and a series of Acts of Parliament passed between 1660-1700 endeavoured to produce a set of statutory requirements for legal settlement. A brief summary of these Acts follows.

The principal Act was that of 1662/3, which defined the main proofs for legal settlement as:

(1) Legitimate Children. These were legally settled in their birthplace if their parents too were legally settled there. If the parents legal place of settlement was not known, then the child's birthplace was the place of legal settlement until such time as that of the parents could be ascertained.

(2) Illegitimate Children. All bastards were legally settled in the parish in which they were born, without regard to the legal settlement of the mother, unless it could be proved that the parish authorities where she had been living had induced her to go to another parish before the birth in order to escape from their financial responsibility.

(3) Apprenticeship. An apprentice gained a new legal settlement in the parish in which he was employed under indenture, providing his Master himself had legal settlement there. No new settlement was gained by the apprentice if his Master's residence was by virtue of a 'settlement certificate'. (See No.8 below.)

(4) Residential qualification:

(a) The occupation of premises with an annual rent value of £10 or more, and the payment of rates and levies attaching to such occupation, gained a new legal settlement..

(b) 40 days residence in a parish gave legal settlement, but parish officers had the power, at their discretion, to remove such immigrants during that time. Under another Act of 1685, the 40 days began from the day of giving formal notice of arrival to the parish authorities (to prevent clandestine arrival and concealment until 40 days were passed), and under a further Act of 1691 the formal notice of arrival had to be exhibited at the Church Door for the 40 day period.

(5) Service. By an Act of 1696/7 service for a calendar year, together with a written receipt for the wages received for that period, gave a legal settlement.

(6) Public Service. By the same Act, occupation of a Public Office for an annual term gave legal settlement.

(7) Payment of Poor Rate. This gave legal settlement under the 1691 Act, but was modified later so that those residing under settlement certificate with no other qualification than payment of Poor Rate did not gain a new legal settlement.

(8) Settlement Certificates. Under the terms of the original Act of 1662/3 the Churchwardens and

Overseers of the Poor of any parish (i.e. the Local Authority in modern parlance) had powers to return any person to his last place of legal settlement within 40 days of his coming to reside in their parish, if he was likely to become a charge on the parish and could give no security. Application had to be made to the Justices of the Peace, on the prescribed form. This evidently presented great difficulties to those quite genuinely looking for new employment. The Act of 1696/7 therefore provided, in order that people should be able to find work in other places, that their parish of settlement could issue a certificate, signed by their Churchwardens and Overseers and endorsed by 2 Justices of the Peace, undertaking to receive them back and provide for them, should they become chargeable on the parish in which they had gone to live and work. Such a Settlement Certificate issued to one parish by name should also be valid in any other parish to which the named person might subsequently move.

This, then, is a brief survey of the Acts of relevance to the collection of documents under consideration here. It can be seen that Settlement Certificates were passports of sorts. There are 219 of them in the Uttoxeter collection. All but 8 of them relate to outsiders residing in Uttoxeter by virtue of their certificates. There is also an undated list of certificates which were held, or had at some time been held, by the town between 1697-1825. The names of a further 118 people appear on this list for whom there are no surviving certificates, of which all but 2 were outsiders who had resided in Uttoxeter under certificate. It is known therefore for certain that during the period 1697-1825 there had been 327 people, in many cases men with their wives and children, who had lived and worked in the town by virtue of a settlement certificate, people whose relief, if they had fallen on hard times, would have been the responsibility of some other parish authority. It is interesting to see where these people came from. By far the greatest number, 189 of them, came from other parishes in the county, and of these the greatest number came from parishes not more than 10 miles from the town. Another 94 came from Derbyshire, and of these the greatest number came also from parishes within 10 miles of Uttoxeter. So in fact over 86% of all the outsiders living in the town were really very local folk. Of the remainder, 13 were from Cheshire and 9 from Warwickshire, and not more than 3 from any other county. These were quite widely spread, but excepting 3 from London and 1 from Newport Pagnell in Bucks., there were none S. of a line drawn from Skegness to the Bristol Channel, virtually the whole of S. Central and S. England. There were 3 from Scotland, but none from Wales.

There are 178 Removal Certificates in the collection, of which 107 are for people removed from Uttoxeter and 71 for people removed to Uttoxeter. The local spread is similar to that for the Settlement Certificates, with 100 coming from, or going to, other parishes in the county and 35 to or from Derbyshire, 76% of the total in all. Only Warwickshire of the other counties has a fair number of Removal Certificates, 8 back there and 6 from there. There were 6 removals back into the Greater London area and 1 back from there. There was 1 removal back to Berkshire, the only one, apart from the London ones, in S. England.

The largest part of the rest of the material in the collection concerns people whose place of settlement was unknown, or uncertain, or contested by some other authority. 30 of these items are examinations, by which the Overseers endeavoured to find out the examinee's last legal settlement. Such examinations would have assisted the Overseers in their decisions as to whether the issue of a Removal Order, or an Appeal against another parish's Order, was appropriate. Connected with these examinations are 32 items relating to Court Orders in settlement disputes, 4 sets of actual case papers, and numerous entries in County Quarter Sessions Order books. These last are particularly useful in identifying removal order cases in which Uttoxeter was not successful, where no documentation survives in the Uttoxeter collection itself. There are a few Orders to Apprehend which are of relevance, and 14 Indemnity Bonds on Uttoxeter townsmen, mainly for £40, indemnifying the Uttoxeter authorities against any additional expense involved in the collection of any of their townsmen residing at a distance of over 12 miles under certificate, who might become subject to Removal Orders. Lastly the Account Books of the Churchwardens and Overseers have survived for part of the period, and sometimes throw more light on some of the documents and people.

In all, there is sufficient material to illustrate how the Uttoxeter authorities interpreted the legislation, and how they sometimes implemented their decisions. Some interesting thumbnail sketches also appear of lowly people for whom this is almost certainly the only historical record.

The illustrations which follow are preceded by the SRO piecenumbers of the items in the collection from which the information is drawn. They come mainly from D3891/6. References to Quarter Sessions Order Books are shown by QS and the year; references to Churchwardens' Accounts are shown by Chw. Accs.

D3891/6/16,83,336,448.

This interesting set of papers concerning George and Ellen Williams demonstrates the operation of settlement legislation, and also throws some light on medical treatment for the poor in the 1760s. George Williams' examination certificate, dated June 29th. 1750, shows that he was born in Burton-on-Trent and was apprenticed as a boy to learn feltmaking. He was assigned to new Masters twice during his 7 year term, which

was finally completed with Thomas Heath a Uttoxeter feltmaker. He had recently married Ellen Spooner of Uttoxeter. (This marriage in fact appears in the Marchington church Register.) The Removal Certificate for George and Ellen Williams and 4 children is dated Dec. 19th. 1766, and was from Rugeley to Uttoxeter. According to it, they had been living in Rugeley under a Uttoxeter Certificate dated 5.10.1762, which has not survived. There is a letter from the Rugeley Overseers to those of Uttoxeter concerning the family:-

"Sir, I write to let you know George Williams' Wife is got much better so that Desire if you will come for them as soon as possible, I have relieved them with 16s.6d. Already and been as Careful as I Could for they are almost starv'd so I shall be Glad if you Will Come for them as soon as you can in so doing you will oblige your Humble Servt John Wollason Overseer. Rugeley Decembr 11th.1766 PS the Surgeons Bill is inclos'd and he thinks them fit to be removed."

This bill has also survived (see Appendix 1) and lists all the treatments given to Ellen Williams, totalling £13.11. It is noteworthy that she was attended to on no less than 16 separate occasions in one month, quite a high level of medical attention for someone 'on the parish' as it were. It is not quite clear from the letter whether the Overseer's 'careful' meant frugal or solicitous.

D3891/6/233

There is however no doubting the solicitude of the Stourbridge Overseers concerning a poor old lady, in their letter to the Uttoxeter Overseers.

"Stourbridge. 14th. October 1769.

Gent. Whereas Love Bladen Widow of Ed. Bladen whom was certificated from your Town of Uttoxeter in the year 1738 Lyes Dangerously ill. and Cant no Longer Support herself nor help herself in any waye. Neither is she fit to be moved upon any carriage Whatsoever. and as wee have people that come to your Town in Trades way you may remitt often. Should be glad to know what you will allow her weekly. She must have a person to be with her often for shes not to be Left to her Self for fear of Burning her Self to Death and is quite Childish and Think the Poorest Object Ever Lookt upon She may continue some time but it cant be long to all Outward appearance your Answer pr the Return of the Post to Let us know how to Act in the Affair will Oblidge Gentm. yr. hble. Servts. N. Collis Churchwarden Thos. Northall Overseer NB There is no Family at all and we have sent you a copy of the Certificate and all that we have Expended as yet is for a pair of shoes wch is 3s.8d."

Obviously the Stourbridge authorities were invoking the law as it stood for such cases, but there is no mistaking their genuine concern for this old lady. There is no surviving record of what action the Uttoxeter Overseers took, but there is little doubt that, as she could not be moved, they would have sent money for her support, but no more than was absolutely necessary.

D3891/6/89

That they would have paid no more than was absolutely necessary is apparent from the evidence of this correspondence from the Newport Pagnell Overseers and the attached memorandum of the Uttoxeter authorities.

Newport Pagnell April 11th. 1775

Gentlemen, Yours of 19th. June came safe to hand, according to your request have relieved Joseph Weston of which the underwritten is a true account. Shall be glad if you will remit the money the first opportunity, please to send us a line pr return of the post which will oblige

Your Hble Serts.

John Hollingsworth Wm. Parratt

Churchwardens

Wm. Underwood Thos. Kilpin John Tye

Overseers of the Poor.

June 5th. 1774.	To Josh. Weston in his illness	£	2s. 0
9th.	More		3 0
11th.	More		2 0
20th.	More		2 0
	Paid for a letter		4½
Sep 18th.	P'd Josh Weston 13 weeks @ 2/6 pw	1	12 6
	Coffin		8 0
	Ministers Clerks and Sextons dues		2 6
	Bur. 2s. 4d. Wool 4½d		2 8½
	Paid Doctors Bill		15 6
	Paid for Child's board 10 weeks @ 2/6	1	5 0
	Paid for do. to Easter 34 weeks @ 1/6	2	11 0
	Paid for shoes and stockings for child		2 5

Paid for a gown and Flannels for do.	3	6
Paid for wine in Josh. Weston's illness	1	0
	£7	13 6

"The child is in our Poor House. Should be glad to know how you would have it conveyed to you or if you will send for it."

Attached to this letter is a note of those items in the account relating specifically to Joseph Weston himself, totalling £3.11.7, together with a memorandum in a different hand, probably that of the Treasurer for the Uttoxeter Poors Accounts, which runs:-

"The above (£3.11.7) being incurred on Josh Weston's acc. which you have undertaken to indemnify against should certainly be paid and I think the charge moderate. The charges occasion'd by the child whom the Officers of Newport by their letter of 15th. June 1774 promis'd to send home immediately and have not yet done so is a matter of a different consideration. If you pay them it will be more generous than just for your own Parish for the Uttoxeter letter does not undertake for the child."

Overleaf is written :-

"The sum of £3.11.7 was promised to be paid by the Overseers of Newport Pagnell Bucks for Josh. Weston's illness and funeral the letter dated 16th. Augt by me Robt. Towers."

Obviously Newport had promised to send the child back at once and had failed to do so, and consequently Uttoxeter refused to pay that part of the account. There is no more information about this case, or about what happened to the child. It is not even known whether it was a girl or a boy. There are no records of a child named Weston in Uttoxeter at this time. But it is interesting to know how much per week the Newport authorities allowed for the upkeep of a dying man in the last few months of his life, and that it was thought moderate by the Uttoxeter authorities.

D3891/6/30,471,558,565,582, and QS 1769

Some of the most interesting documentary survivals in the Uttoxeter collection concern persons whose settlement was of doubtful legality, causing appeals and counter appeals and much litigation at Quarter Sessions. One such man was John Adin, who with his wife Elizabeth and their children was removed from Uttoxeter to Ashbourne by Order dated March 18th.1769. Notice of appeal was lodged by the Ashbourne Overseers one week later on 25th.March, and a Court Summons to the parties to appear at Quarter Sessions was dated April 4th.1769. Counsel acting for Uttoxeter prepared a detailed case paper for use at this Appeal. All these papers have survived, together with two accounts of expenses connected with the case. Adin, a pauper, was born in Uttoxeter and apprenticed as a boy there to James Bladon, a woolcomber, for 5 years by indenture. He served the first 2½ years there, and the second 2½ years at Ashbourne when his Master moved there and rented premises at £10 per year and upwards. The indenture itself was lost, but Adin gave all this information on oath. The legal argument evidently hinged on the fact that, although there was no record of Stamp Duty having been paid on the indenture, this did not invalidate it, as no premium or consideration money had been paid either. Later, while Adin was working as a journeyman for Bladon, Bladon at first rented a house in St.John St. for £3 or so per annum, and later a much larger house in Church St. with an adjoining close used as a tenteryard for £8 per annum, together with 2 closes of land from Mr.Edward Goodwin at £9 per annum. Counsel were able to produce Mr.Goodwin's receipts for rent in 1755 (presumably this was during the period of Adin's apprenticeship). Adin was also cross-examined as to whether he had applied for, and received, relief at Ashbourne on several occasions, and as to whether he considered himself a parishioner there. The case presented by Uttoxeter counsel evidently satisfied the Justices, for Ashbourne's appeal was dismissed and the Removal Order confirmed at the Easter Sessions of 1769. The Overseer's account for this case lists the various payments made, including 5s.each to John Kendrick and William Wheelock, the 2 principal witnesses, for loss of working time. The lawyer's account was for 15s.2d., and included 1s. for 2 spa tickets for the witnesses, a little treat for the 2 men over and above the loss of time payments.

Adin is a very unusual name. There is among the Uttoxeter apprentice indentures one for Adin Luftner apprenticed to his father, also Adin Luftner, a tailor, in 1728. This may well have been the family, possibly an immigrant one, maybe anxious to lose the foreign sounding family name. It seems evident that he was no stranger either to Ashbourne or Uttoxeter, and it was probably of not much concern to him whether his relief came from either place. The argument was really between the 2 sets of Overseers each trying to saddle the other with the burden of payment, and on this occasion Uttoxeter won.

D3891/6/178 and QS 1754

They very frequently lost, however. In 1754 Sudbury Overseers appealed successfully against a Uttoxeter removal order for John and Mary Bladon. On this occasion the Uttoxeter authorities had invoked the settlement certificate of John's father and mother, Thomas and Bridget Bladon, which had been issued by the Sudbury Overseers in March 1728. When Thomas had died, Bridget and her son had been removed to Sudbury

by Order in 1732. Later that year the son John returned to Uttoxeter to serve an apprenticeship with Edward Bladon, by indenture dated Aug. 18th. 1732. (This indenture does not appear in the Uttoxeter collection, but of course was likely to have been a privately arranged contract. Edward does appear as Master in another indenture of that year, a houswifery one for a girl, Margaret Horobin.) The success of the Sudbury appeal indicates that the indenture was legal and valid, the term had been served, and that by virtue of it John Bladon's legal place of settlement was now Uttoxeter.

D3891/6/451,561-2,567,585 and QS 1772

The place of legal settlement of Joseph and Sarah Blood and family also depended on the validity of an apprentice indenture. They were originally removed from Church Broughton to Uttoxeter by Order dated 10th. March 1767. Uttoxeter's notice of Appeal was dated 16th. April 1767 and notes additionally that the Uttoxeter Overseers would require the Church Broughton Overseers to produce Joseph Blood's indenture of apprenticeship to Richard Watson of Uttoxeter. Uttoxeter's appeal was unsuccessful at Derby Quarter Sessions. In 1772 the Uttoxeter authorities were once again trying to get rid of this family, this time to Longford. Uttoxeter's Order itself does not survive, but Longford's appeal against it does, dated 17th. April 1772, and so also does part of some case notes for counsel's use at the Quarter Sessions appeal heard at Easter 1772. It appears that he was apprenticed by a Deed Poll or Instrument in writing entitled an Indenture, but not indented, to a weaver in Uttoxeter, where he served the term under the agreement. This weaver must have been the Richard Watson referred to in the surviving document of 1767. It had been agreed also that the apprentice should have half the wages he earned and pay his Master out of that for his board and lodging. He had no other legal settlement requirement. The fact that Longford's appeal was allowed and Uttoxeter's removal order quashed, with 1 guinea costs to Longford, shows that the Justices accepted the validity of the non-indented indenture giving the Blood family legal settlement in Uttoxeter. It does at the same time seem highly likely that the Bloods were a family of no real fixed abode, looking for work wherever they might find it. They had obviously lived in both Church Broughton and Longford at times, and probably in other places too.

D3891/6/361,585,598 QS 1767 and 1780

The circumstances of Richard Charrington and his family were unusual. An undated Warwickshire examination shows that he had been born in Uttoxeter and had no other settlement qualification. He was a vagrant aged about 54 with a wife, Elizabeth, and 2 children aged 6 and 4. A surviving case paper has more detail. Although he was born in Uttoxeter he later went to Aldridge, where he married a widow who had 2 children, then aged 4 and 2, by her deceased husband. When the family became chargeable at Aldridge the Overseers there had no hesitation in removing them back to Uttoxeter, and deemed that the children should go with their mother for nurture until they were 7 years old. Two notices of Appeal by the Uttoxeter Overseers survive, both dated April 1767, and one of them notes that the Justices had confirmed the Removal Order in respect of the parents but quashed it in respect of the children. Presumably these 2 little children would have had, legally, to go into the Poor House at Aldridge without their mother and stepfather. There is no record of what actually happened. The case does show how inflexibly and inhumanely the law could be applied. (However it must have been as a result of legal judgments such as this that the Act was amended a few years later, in 1781/2, to prevent this happening.) It seems highly likely that this family's connections with both places were maintained, since there is a bastardy examination for Ann Charrington at Uttoxeter dated 7.8.1780 and an Order to Apprehend against Thomas Nixon of Aldridge, cheap filer, father of the child. The Quarter Sessions Order Book for Michaelmas 1780 has the entry:

"Parish of Uttoxeter against Thomas Nickson. Nickson to continue in prison in the House of Correction until next Sessions or until he find surety in answer to Bastardy Apprehension Order in respect of Ann Carrington not yet brought to bed."

Between the Quarter Sessions of Easter 1754 and Epiphany 1786, a period from which 56 Removal Certificates have survived. Uttoxeter was involved in 21 settlement actions at Stafford Quarter Sessions. In 15 of these they were unsuccessful. Possibly their Overseers were sometimes ill-advised, although it is more likely that the orders were issued in the hope that no more would be heard of it. It is evident from the large number of certificates surviving which relate to uncontested removals (plus an unknown number of lost ones), both into and out of the town, that contested cases were the exception rather than the rule.

There are quite a number of instances in which the issue of a Removal Certificate by Uttoxeter was followed by the issue of a Settlement Certificate by the parish authorities to which the person had been removed, generally within 2 or 3 weeks but on 2 occasions from parishes at no great distance, within 48 hours. It seems almost certain that in all these instances those men concerned had proper jobs in Uttoxeter but were residing there without valid Settlement Certificates, and lost as little time as possible in getting their legal parishes of settlement to issue the necessary document. Additional evidence that this was so appears in D3891/6/714, which was a £100 bond on Jonathan Gilbert, a Uttoxeter shoemaker, to enable his employee

James Boothby and Anne his wife, who had been unable to get a settlement certificate from anywhere, to stay in the town. This Bond was specially agreed by the Vestry in 1770, and it was in 1770 that 4 of the examples described above occurred. The overall impression gained from this particular set of documents is not that the Uttoxeter authorities particularly wanted to get rid of these families, but only that if they intended staying they needed to have the proper documentation, in case in future they should fall on hard times. In fact only 1 of the 10 known certificates of this sort was ever invoked afterwards, and this was 11 years later in respect of a child (by then an adult) of the couple for whom the certificate was issued. It is also worth noting here that the James Boothby mentioned above had evidently been a longterm resident of Uttoxeter, since there also exists a Bastardy Bond of 1759, 11 years earlier, citing James Boothby, shoemaker of Uttoxeter, as father of the child of Ann Tomkinson, who it may be assumed had become his wife by 1770.

D3891/6/82,115,580

Documents surviving concerning the Walker illustrate aspects of the requirements of the settlement laws as well as their interpretation. The earliest settlement certificate was for John and Prudence Walker, from Warmington (Warmingham) in Cheshire and dated 4th March 1716. There is also a later one of 26th.Feb.1766 for John Walker and his family, also from Warmingham. This John was likely to have been the son of the first. It is an interesting certificate in that the standard format for settlement certificate is preceded by :-

"To Mr James Cope the Overseer of the Poor of Uttoxeter in the County of Stafford that I John Walker Bricklayer do hereby give you Notis that I am com to Inabit with my wife Mary and children Namely John William Elizabeth Mary Sarah Abi: Walker at Lamb pits Lake Febr, 26th.1766 Witness my hand John Walker that the above Notis be Publicly Read in the Church on the next Lords Day and Registered in the Parish Book here for the Parish Accounts Read in the Church March 2 1766".

It is the only certificate in the entire collection which actually incorporates the provisions of the Act regarding display, notice, and public reading. The survival also of two sets of notes concerning the financial affairs of John Walker senior in so far as they affected his settlement, and that of his descendants, illustrates what a minefield, and nightmare, it was for the layman and also for the Churchwardens and Overseers. And what a happy hunting ground for the legal profession, no doubt. The two sets of notes run:

(a) Walker resides at Uttoxeter by virtue of a certificate from Warmingham and dies leaving issue by Prudence his wife John and Joseph. Prudence afterwards intermarries with--- Cope and since that marriage purchases a cottage for the sum of £--- and afterwards by advice purchases another Cott for the sum of £--- making together the sum of £30. The last cottage she afterwards sells. Her husband Cope dying she gives to her son John Walker upon his marriage part of the first mentioned Cott to live in, and by will gives the other half to her son --- Cope which she had by her last husband. He sells it to Mr.Bull and John Walker rents it of him. Joseph Walker married and he and his family becoming chargeable were removed on the Certificate from Uttoxeter to Warmingham where he was received and another Certificate afterwards granted from Warmingham to Uttoxeter with him and his family. 9th Geo2 1756

(b) John Walker senr. purchased a Cot on the Waste in Uttoxeter for £21. His widow afterwards bought another cote for £9. The widow gave John Walker part of the first cote and permitted him to live in it and upon the death of his mother he bought the other part of the Cote from one Cope to whom his mother left it. He pays a small rent to the Lords of the Manor. John Walker bought the first Cot 40 years since and upward. Separate. Collectors of Land Tax.

The date at the end of (a) does not make sense, since 9 Geo 2 was 1735-6. 29 Geo 2 was 1756. Either the writer meant that, or possibly 9th.Feb.1756. These enquiries were evidently made to try to find out which, if any, members of the Walker family were entitled to a legal Uttoxeter settlement. Reading between the lines, it may be guessed that Joseph Walker and his family, on their return from Warmingham in 1756, went to live with his brother on the Waste. His brother John would appear to have had a claim to legal settlement, but the fact that John himself invoked his late father's certificate in 1766 makes it all appear a very grey area, the sort of circumstances made for endless litigation.

D3891/6/534-5,581, Chw.Accts.

There are several Uttoxeter Removal Orders for pregnant unmarried women. This set of papers regarding Hannah Banks and her child cover a period of 7 years. She was examined in July 1800 regarding her place of settlement, and removed to Prestwood by Order in October 1800. However the Churchwardens' Accounts for 1802, 1803, and 1804 reveal annual payments at the rate of 16d.per week in respect of Hannah Banks' child, and finally in September 1806 is the entry:

"To Overseers of Prestwood 38 weeks pay to Banks child from Easter 1807 to 19th.December then 7 years old £2.10.8".

This date shows that the child had been born 2 months after the date of the Removal Order to Prestwood, and that the Overseers there had invoked the law regarding removal with intent to avoid liability for

an unborn child.

D3891/6/526,528,612,1281 and Chw.Accs.

For Elizabeth Askey and her son Thomas the record is even more comprehensive. There is an Order to Apprehend against James Turner of Harleston Staffs. for fathering a child on Elizabeth Askey dated 7th July 1796. She was removed to Draycott (in-the-Clay) 3 days later, and the Order for her son, described as 'the illegitimate infant son of Elizabeth Haskey' was dated 4th May 1797. Again the Churchwardens' accounts record payments for Haskey's child over the following 7 years, mostly at 2s. per week, but with an occasional lump sum. In October 1804 came the entry:-

"Paid pair of indentures for Haskey's child 4s.

Registering and signing the indentures 4s."

Both parts of these indentures survive also, dated 10th Oct. 1804. He was apprenticed till 21 years old brickmaker and nailor to John Stanyer of Stone. It does seem most likely that Elizabeth Askey and her son had been resident in Uttoxeter for most of his infancy, although the record of lump sum payments sometimes does indicate that payments may have been made to Draycott Overseers, at least for part of the time; but Uttoxeter had evidently accepted liability for the child.

D3891/6/346,474, QS 1775 and Chw.Accs.

The case of Elizabeth Nield and her bastard son Daniel is somewhat different in that the examination evidence shows that he was not an infant. They were removed by Order to Marchington Woodlands in December 1770, but Daniel obviously came back to Uttoxeter, since their Overseers tried to remove him again in 1774. The certificate has not survived, but Marchington Woodlands' appeal against it was heard at Epiphany Sessions 1775 and the Order was quashed. Daniel's settlement examination has survived, and reveals that he was a shoemaker by trade and had lived most of his life in Uttoxeter. 5 years previous to the examination, in 1769, he had rented a house there at 26s. per annum and paid all the levies and taxes to the Church and Poor, 39 in the first year and 12 in the second, but he did not know if his name had been entered in any rate or assessment book. The Justices must have felt that his case for legal Uttoxeter settlement was strong enough. In the Churchwardens' Accounts between 1799-1807 there are recorded regular payments of 5s. or 6s. per month to Daniel Nield, by which time he may well have been a fairly old man. In April 1824 there is record of payment for a 'Shift for Widow Nield'. This may have been his widow, although there are also a Thomas and Sarah Nield occurring in the poor Records at this time.

D3891/6/11,111,395

There are quite frequently details surviving of the expenses relating to the cost of removal, as well as certificates themselves. The earliest were for Elizabeth Sprigs in 1756. She was wife of Mathew Sprigs, a soldier. An account of 1758 records:

"Received from Bakewell on acct. of Sprigs removal £1.1.6".

Francis and Mary Sprigs had lived in Uttoxeter under a Bakewell Certificate of 1715. Elizabeth was most probably their daughter-in-law.

D3891/6/436, 579,670. D4271. Chw.Accs.

James and Elizabeth Bloor and their children resided at Dalby-on-the-Wolds in Leics. by a Uttoxeter certificate of 1752. There is also a bond indemnifying the town against their removal expenses from Old Dalby of that year. They were removed from Dalby to Uttoxeter by Order dated 12th Mar. 1764. A detailed account of their removal expenses allowed by the Justices survives. It is the only one in the Uttoxeter collection. It runs:-

"Allowances made by the Revd. George Malbon Clerk one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the County of Stafford and residing at Stafford in the said County out of the Bill of Charges delivered to the Overseers of the Poor of Uttoxeter by Thos Folds Overseer of the Poor of Old Dalby for the removal of James Bloor Elizabeth his wife Jane Thomas Elizabeth and Mary their children residing at Dalby aforesd by virtue and under a certificate from Uttoxeter.

And First I allow the first article charged in the Sd Bill

	£	s	d
<i>For maintenance of the Sd James Bloor</i>	1	4	3
<i>And also for the Justices Orders of Removal</i>		3	6
<i>And for Coals</i>		8	3
<i>And Expenses at Dalby and Segs Hill and the Turnpikes</i>		7	4
<i>And the Bait at Loughborough</i>		3	0
<i>And for the Horses, Cart and the Man</i>	1	12	0
<i>And the Nights Charges at Shardlow</i>		9	6
<i>And the Bait at Hilton</i>		3	0
<i>And the Nights Charges at Uttoxeter</i>		6	10

And the rest of the Said Bill I do not allow

Given under my Hand the 16th. of March 1764. G. Malbon

The reverse records the discharge of the account and receipt of the money by Dalby.

D3891/6/94,546, Chw.Accs

Thomas and Ann Norris and their 4 children were removed from Uttoxeter to Newbury by Order dated 18th. May 1804. The Churchwardens' Accounts for July that year record:

"John Ash expenses taking Thomas Norris and Family with cart and two horses, ten days to Newbury, Berks £14.12.6."

Ten days was presumably the time taken for the outward and return journeys. There is also a letter from Newbury to Uttoxeter asking for a copy of the Norris examination certificate, since the Newbury Overseers believed that the Norrises really belonged to St.Mary Reading. They had searched their own certificates for 100 years past and had found no record of a settlement certificate being issued for them.

D3891/6/356,392, Chw.Accs.

There are references to Edward Jempson or Jemson spanning almost 50 years. At his examination, on 22nd.Aug.1785, he said he was a shoemaker, born in Uttoxeter where he had served part of an apprenticeship as a shoemaker until his mother bought him out of it. He had continued to work as a shoemaker, mainly in St.Michael's Derby, but also in other Derby parishes, for over 20 years. It is noteworthy that the surviving removal certificate for him, with his wife and 3 children, was from St.Michael Derby and dated 12th.Sep.1753. It seems likely that he was another instance of someone working in a parish, this time in Derby, without a certificate, coming back to Uttoxeter for it, and then returning to Derby, where he spent most of his working life, at any rate until 1785. In the examination of 1785 he said that he had 4 children, but that none of them lived with him now, implying that they were all grown up. In May 1800 the Churchwardens' Accounts record purchase of a shirt for Jempson for 18d., and in January 1801 his funeral fees, which were 3s.8d.

D3891/6/86-88, 327-8, 541, 616, Chw.Accs.

There is a large amount of surviving material concerning Mary Willisford and her children, which illustrates very well the operation of social services of a sort on a greater than local scale in the last years of the eighteenth and very early years of the nineteenth centuries. Mary Willisford was a widow, legally settled in St.Margaret Pattens, which is a very tiny parish in the City of London, on Cheapside between London Bridge and Tower Bridge. Her settlement there was presumably through her late husband, but by 1799 she had moved to Uttoxeter with her children. She was paid quite regularly by the Uttoxeter Overseers each month from April 1799 onward 26s. or thereabouts, with monies sent from St.Margaret Pattens annually, since receipts are recorded in the Uttoxeter Overseers accounts. A letter of May 1800 from St.Margarets runs:

"Mr.West I am favoured with your letter requesting I would pay to Messrs.Dakin and Allison £18.18.2 being the amount of your demand upon our parish for the money advanced for the support of Mary Willisford and family to Easter Day last: this money shall be paid as you desire tomorrow: your letter did not reach my hands till today, as it was not accurately directed; our Parish is small and perhaps not very well known at the General Post Office here, therefore in future when you may have occasion to write, please to note 'St.Margaret Pattens Rood Lane', your letters will then come regular. You will please to continue this allowance of 6s.per week to Mrs.Willisford for if any diminution in her family should from any cause take place if you think that a reduction in her allowance could with propriety be adopted, our Parish would consider itself under an obligation to you for your friendly communication. I remain Sir your most humble servant Arthur Ryder, Churchwarden. St.Margaret Pattens Rood Lane London".

Receipt of annual sums varying between £13 and £17.14.0 from St.Margarets are recorded in the Uttoxeter Churchwardens' Accounts until 1808. It is apparent that it was already quite possible for someone from London to reside permanently in Uttoxeter without employment, providing there was proper certification, and proper arrangements about the funding of such residence. Troubles with the Post Office are evidently no modern phenomenon either.

However, on 10th Aug.1801 Mary Willisford was removed by Order to St.Margarets. The reasons for this Order being issued are to be found among the surviving Bastardy documents in the Uttoxeter collection. An Order to Apprehend against Thomas Wilson, a Tutbury blacksmith for fathering a child on Mary Willisford was issued by the Overseers of St.Margarets on 26th.Aug.1801. Obviously the Uttoxeter authorities had seen that Mrs.Willisford was pregnant and notified the authorities at St.Margaret's of the fact. They had asked that a Removal Order be issued against her so that they could examine her as to the paternity of the child. Uttoxeter Churchwardens' Accounts for July-August 1801 record:-

"Expences with 2 horses and Cart with Willisford to Rocester

10s.10d.

Horse and Cart to Litchfield Mary Willisford

10s. 6d.

Coach hire to London and back
and below

£4.18s. 0d.

"recd on Acc of Willisford's pay since Easter

£6. 6s. 0d.

How long she was in London is not known. She may well have come back on the same hired coach. All the St.Margaret's Overseers would have wanted to know was the name and address of the father of the unborn child, so they could claim 7 years maintenance for it from him. At all events, she was not there long. A letter of 8th.Jan.1802 from St.Margaret's to Uttoxeter reads:-

"Sir

This day your letter was put into my hand which had been posted to Mr.Wilson who has now left our Parish, the account as sent I believe is correct and if you'll please to draw on me for the same it shall merit due Honor, I judge the Best mode of payment as its an odd sum, charging or adding to the amount of £8.2.0 the expense of stamp and this letter. With regard to cloathing I wou'd by leave to have left for the present as we shall in a fortnight have a Committee after which I will inform you how to proceed in the case. The allowance of 6s.per week is to be continued to Mrs Willisford but as she is now at home the 2s.will of course be drop'd.

I am Sir your very humble Servt John Sharp No.20 Little Tower St.London"

Below is written in another hand, evidently the Uttoxeter Overseer's:-

"Jan 11th. required a certificate for Mary Willisford and her children, particular and separately specified therein, otherwis the regular way will be taken to remove the whole of them."

The Settlement Certificate requested by the Uttoxeter Overseers followed shortly, dated 16th.Jan 1802, but the children were not named separately as requested. There was also a letter of the same date which read:

"Re Mary Willisford.

Gentlemen, Mr.Bladon's letter I rec'd of the 12th.inst. I have to note on that. That Mrs.Willisford's assertion of the Certificate being with you before her arrival was perfectly right. As I fully intended it should. But on sending to our Vestry Clerk he was out of town, and myself being confined with lameness prevented my doing as I intended.

However I have now herewith sent it, and which I trust will be satisfactory. I believe the names of the children where (sic) not necessary. If they where I did not know them. But these are things which I may say never come under the direction of any of our Parish Officers and its a singular case to send a Certificate out of London with respect to the clothing of the children. It is the wish of our Committee that you wou'd provide for them of such quantity and assortment as of you had to do it for yourselves, trusting and relying on your good management in that, as in other respects, we shall feel ourselves oblig'd.

Your Bill as per Advise shall merit due Honor.

I am Gentm. for the Parish of St.Margaret Pattens your very Humble St. John Sharp Churchwarden."

The impression is undoubtedly that the Committee at St.Margaret's were not very pleased with the way in which the Overseers at Uttoxeter were treating Mary Willisford. But they did issue another Certificate, dated 9th.Feb.1802, on which the 4 children were separately named, Sarah aged 13, Thomas aged 10, Ann aged 6, and Edward an infant. This last named was presumably the result of her association with the Tutbury blacksmith.

It is a pity that none of the letters from Uttoxeter to St.Margaret's have survived, or the minutes of any of the Committee meetings which must undoubtedly have discussed this quite long-running incident. The Uttoxeter authorities certainly do not appear in a very good light, appearing to have been very officious about Mary Willisford and her family, even perhaps wanting to get rid of her from the parish altogether. It looks like yet another example, quite an unpleasant one, of that inward looking attitude referred to in earlier Studies. On the other hand they may have felt that she was 'working the system' as it were, if in fact she had been living with Thomas Wilson as his wife without marrying him and so not losing her widow's allowance from St.Margaret's. At the best interpretation, she might have had an indiscreet or unfortunate relationship with Thomas Wilson, whom she could not marry (if he were already married), or would not for some other reason. Whatever the reasons for the incident, she remained in Uttoxeter, and payments to her are recorded throughout the period for which the Accounts survive; and her descendants stayed long after, since the Willisfords who were jewellers in Carter Street (the shop still trades under that name) were descended from her.

D3891/6/30,470 Chw.Accs.

There are quite a number of instances in which persons, having been removed back to Uttoxeter from other parishes, appear in the Churchwardens' Accounts in receipt of relief, sometimes regularly and sometimes intermittently, often over periods of many years. One of these was Harvey Cliverley, or Cleverley, who was removed from St.Michael Coventry to Uttoxeter at the beginning of 1769. In April and May of that year the Accounts record the purchase of shoes for him 5s.6d., leather to make breeches for him 3s., plus a further 2s.1d. to a William Ensor for making them, and to mending Cliverley's shuttle 2d., and on several occasions the value

of work done by him, for example on 22nd.May:-

"Harvey Cliverly's work £1.1.4 Gave him 3s.6½d."

This family's name appears in receipt of relief intermittently for several years after.

D3391/6/420,677 Chw.Accs.

For Mary Spooner, wife and later widow of William Spooner of 3rd.Dragoon Guards, evidence survives spanning almost 50 years. Her father-in-law James Spooner, a Uttoxeter shoemaker, had put up a £40 bond against possible removal expenses on her account from St.Mary Leicester in May 1753. However she was removed from that parish, with her 2 children, in March 1760. A few years later James Spooner died in Macclesfield, and the Uttoxeter Churchwardens' Accounts record payment of £3.4.6 for his funeral expenses there. From 1800-1807 regular monthly payments of 6s. to Mary Spooner are recorded, and in May 1807 she was marked 'dead'.

D3891/6/416,431 Chw.Accs.

William and Mary Kinnersley and 3 children were removed from Dilhorne to Uttoxeter in June 1759, and again from Checkley in July 1762, this time with 4 children. In Dec. 1800 William Kinnersley's wife received a casual payment of 3s.6d., and from 1803-06 widow Kinnersley was in receipt of regular payments of 4s. per month.

D3891/6/437 Chw.Accs.

John and Elizabeth Kendrick were removed from Burton-on-Trent to Uttoxeter in Jan.1764. The Churchwardens' Accounts record:-

"May 18 1800 Pair shoes for widow Kendrick 4s.0d.

Oct.-Nov.1801 Paid to Overseers of Burton to extra payments to widow Kendrick when ill

£1.0s.0d.

July 1802 Relieved Widow Kendrick sundries as per bill 9s.8½d.

They also record regular payments of 4s.per month to Widow Kendrick from 1800-1807. It seems likely that the Kendricks, after being removed from Burton in 1764 obtained a settlement certificate from the Uttoxeter authorities to return there and stayed for the rest of their lives. There was no reason why Burton should have returned them, providing no claim was made on their funds. There were probably similar reciprocal arrangements with Birmingham too, since an Accounts entry of 1799 was for £44.5.0 paid to the Overseers there. This amount was quite large and probably related to more than one family of Uttoxeter people living there.

D3891/6/256,596,754 Chw.Accs.

Webb Simpson and Elizabeth his wife were living in Uttoxeter under certificate from Cheddleton of May 1746. He was named in an Order to Apprehend concerning the bastard child of Ann Mottharam in 1780, and in another Order of 1790 concerning the bastard child of Ellen Smith. He was described as 'brickmaker' on both occasions. He must have been at least 65 years old in 1790. The Churchwardens' Accounts record regular payments of relief at 6s.per month from 1799 onwards, until he was finally marked 'dead' in Jan.1802. He had obviously acquired a legal settlement in Uttoxeter at some date after 1746, although it is no longer possible to find out how.

D3891/6/362,508,531,590 Chw.Accs.

Members of the Bacon family, whose names constantly recur in the Poor Records, might best be described as semi-vagrant, but based on Uttoxeter. Daniel and Sarah Bacon and 1 child were removed to Anslow by an Order of June 1787. But a copy of a Derbyshire examination of 1798 for Daniel appears among the Uttoxeter papers, showing that he was still around the town then. He was found 'wandering abroad and living in barns'. He said he believed he had been born at Church Broughton Derbyshire or Wootton Staffs., where he had lived with his mother until he was 15. He had heard that his father was buried at Ellastone. He had had various hirings, including one to Joseph Shirley of Burton for 1 year, one to John Cope for 2 years, and one to Thomas Denson of Anslow for 1 year. He had 2 children, Catherine aged 13 and Daniel aged 8, both by Sarah Green, but he was never married to her. They were both bastards born in Uttoxeter, and had never been from him for hire or service.

Richard and Mary Bacon were removed from Lichfield to Uttoxeter by an Order of Aug.1799, the removal expenses incurred being £1.14.0 according to the Accounts for Nov.1800. In April 1801 an Order to Apprehend Richard was made, as he had run away leaving his wife and children chargeable on the parish. He was evidently soon found, for casual relief payments to him are recorded over a period of several years, 13s.6d altogether in 1801, 2s. in 1803, and 19s.6d. in 1806. In September 1806 is recorded:

"Coffin for Bacon's child 6s., Expenses and Fees 5s."

D3891/6/344, QS 1779, Chw.Accs.

There are constant references too to members of the Durose family, nearly always in the Loxley and Little Bramshall area of Uttoxeter. They would perhaps have been better described as 'indigent poor' rather than

'vagrant', although their sympathies with that section of the population were evident on one occasion. In 1771 and again in 1782 Joseph Durose son of Joseph Durose was cited as father of bastard children. At Quarter Sessions in 1779 William Durose was convicted of unlawfully allowing rogues and vagabonds to lodge or shelter in his house and outbuildings. Catherine Durose, in her settlement examination of 1774, said she had been born at Little Bramshall, as had her father and grandfather before her. Her working life had been a series of hirings, generally for 11 months or 51 weeks, principally to 2 masters, Isaac Potter and Mr. Chawner, both of Ockmanton Derbyshire. In between 2 of the hirings to Mr. Chawner, she said that she:

"...went home for a week, or 2 or 3 days, to mend her things..."

In 1799 relief was being paid to Catherine, Daniel and Elizabeth Durose. In March 1800 the Churchwardens' Accounts record:

<i>"Paid for a coffin for Catherine Durose</i>	<i>9s.0d.</i>
<i>Burial fees and Ale</i>	<i>6s.8d.</i>
and in November 1802 they record:	
<i>"Durose of Bramshall. Funeral feast for daughter's child</i>	<i>8s.6d."</i>

In conclusion, the overriding impression is of the inward looking attitudes of all the Parish authorities. There was always a clear intent not to be financially responsible for those sick, poor, or needy who were not legally settled, and this sometimes was particularly hard for those with doubtful settlement claims, who tended to get shunted back and forth between various sets of battling Churchwardens and Overseers. Much has been written about the inhumanity and meanness of Churchwardens and Overseers all over the country, and this must sometimes have been true, but many of the allegations of inhumanity and meanness stem from the failure to realise that the Churchwardens' and Overseers' job was to look after their own poor and needy folk, not just any poor folk who happened to be in their parish at any one time. It does appear that, towards the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth the Uttoxeter authorities were starting to operate reciprocal arrangements with other parishes, but this almost certainly only extended to payment of out-relief on behalf of other parishes. The only exceptions to this rule were likely to have been those who were simply too old or too ill to be moved. There are a number of Removal Orders endorsed to that effect, but such stays of execution were usually fairly temporary. The Overseers would always have weighed up whether it was cheaper to pay to keep someone where they were or bring them back to be relieved in the town. It is virtually certain that it was impossible to get relief unless it was really needed. In that respect an entirely local administration was particularly efficient. They were after all spending their own, their friends', and their fellow townsfolk's money, and they were pretty careful about how they spent it. It is here that allegations of meanness may well sometimes be justified. It is obvious that those men who employed labourers for 51 weeks each year instead of 52, employers who themselves from time to time would have had to take on the annual Churchwardens' job, were simply making sure that those labourers, potential extra liabilities on parish funds, were not coming to their parish, as legally settled.

It is much more difficult to assess to what extent those same Churchwardens and Overseers were inhumane, or cruel, or mean, towards those who were accepted as their own poor, or sick, or needy, even though Uttoxeter has a very large body of surviving documents. There are no personal testimonies from the poor of the town, of either kindness or of meanness or inhumanity. The settlement examinations, which are the most revealing personal documents, are nevertheless very matter-of-fact. That there were townsfolk who took both a benevolent and a responsible view of the town's poor, old, and sick is a fact, or there would have been no Charities and the town was quite well provided in that respect. It may reasonably be argued that these same townsfolk, and others of a like mind, would frequently administer the funds available; but it is equally just as certain that, as responsibility was delegated to others in a chain of authority, the possibilities for the misuse and abuse of funds, and for meanness and cruelty, would occur from time to time, particularly when it is borne in mind that the appointments of Churchwardens and Overseers were annual ones. It was noted in the Study on Apprentices that the Charity Commissioners' Report made this point with special reference to funds supposed to be administered by Trustees but in fact being administered by the annual Parish Officers. It does appear that, in Uttoxeter, a certain unsympathetic 'laissez faire' attitude crept into Charity administration between about 1780 and 1805, and that this may well also have tempered the attitudes of the authorities in their administration of statutory relief. Having made this small proviso, it has to be said that nowhere in the Uttoxeter documents is any impression of cruelty conveyed towards their legally settled. That there was meanness, in the sense of not providing more than was absolutely necessary, is apparent. But even here the meaning of the word 'necessary' and its interpretation at that time has to be considered very carefully. Wine was frequently provided for the elderly in their last few days. Ale was invariably provided at pauper funerals. It was noted above that 8s.6d. was spent on a funeral feast for a pauper family at the burial of one of their children. We may view these things as

being above necessity, but it may not have been thought so at the time. Perhaps a more suitable description would be 'things suitable to the occasion and the persons'. The Poor Accounts abound with entries of payment for shifts, smocks, breeches and shoes for the poor, and of repairs done to, and sometimes replacement of, their working equipment. And what surviving accounts there are relating to the supply of foodstuffs for the Poorhouse may show a monotony of diet but certainly not inadequacy; and of its wholesome content there is no doubt whatever.

As already observed, relief was not to be had unless it really was needed. But it was ultimately there, and extended to food, clothing, and medical assistance as well as simple cash payments. This is demonstrated constantly from the records. The key to the interpretation of necessity and propriety in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is in the words of some of the letters:

In old age *'Love Bladon...cant no longer support herself nor help herself in any way'*.

In illness *'George Williams Wife is got much better...the Surgeon thinks them fit to be removed'*.

Or children's clothing *'...of such quantity and assortment as if you had to do it for yourselves, relying on your good management.'*

These were hard times certainly, but 'in extremis' the legally settled were cared for.

Appendix 1. Surgeon's Account in respect of Treatment for George Williams' wife.

			£	s	d
1766.		for George Williams			
Novr.	3rd	Bleeding his wife	0	0	6
	"	A Vomitt	0	0	3
	"	Anodyne Draught	0	0	4
	4	A Carminative Mixture	0	1	6
	6	Purgeing Powder	0	0	2
	"	Mixture Repeated	0	1	6
	7	Spirit of Hartshorn	0	0	1
	"	Camomile Flowers	0	0	1
	8	Nervous Drops	0	0	6
	9	Mixture Repeated	0	1	6
	"	Purgeing Powder Repeated	0	0	2
	11	Mixture Repeated	0	1	6
	"	Drops repeated	0	0	6
	"	A Blister for ye back	0	0	6
	13	Mixture repeated	0	1	6
	14	4 Nervous Boluses	0	1	0
	"	A Nervous Mixture	0	1	6
	15	Boluses and Do Repeated	0	2	6
	16	Do Do	0	2	6
	18	Do Do	0	2	6
	19	Anodyne Draught	0	0	4
	20	Box of Strengthening Pills	0	1	0
	27	Do Repeated	0	1	0
	"	Diuretic Drops	0	0	6
Decr.	1	Do	0	0	6
			£	13	11